

Extra numbers
METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

DANIEL CURRY, D.D., LL.D., Editor.

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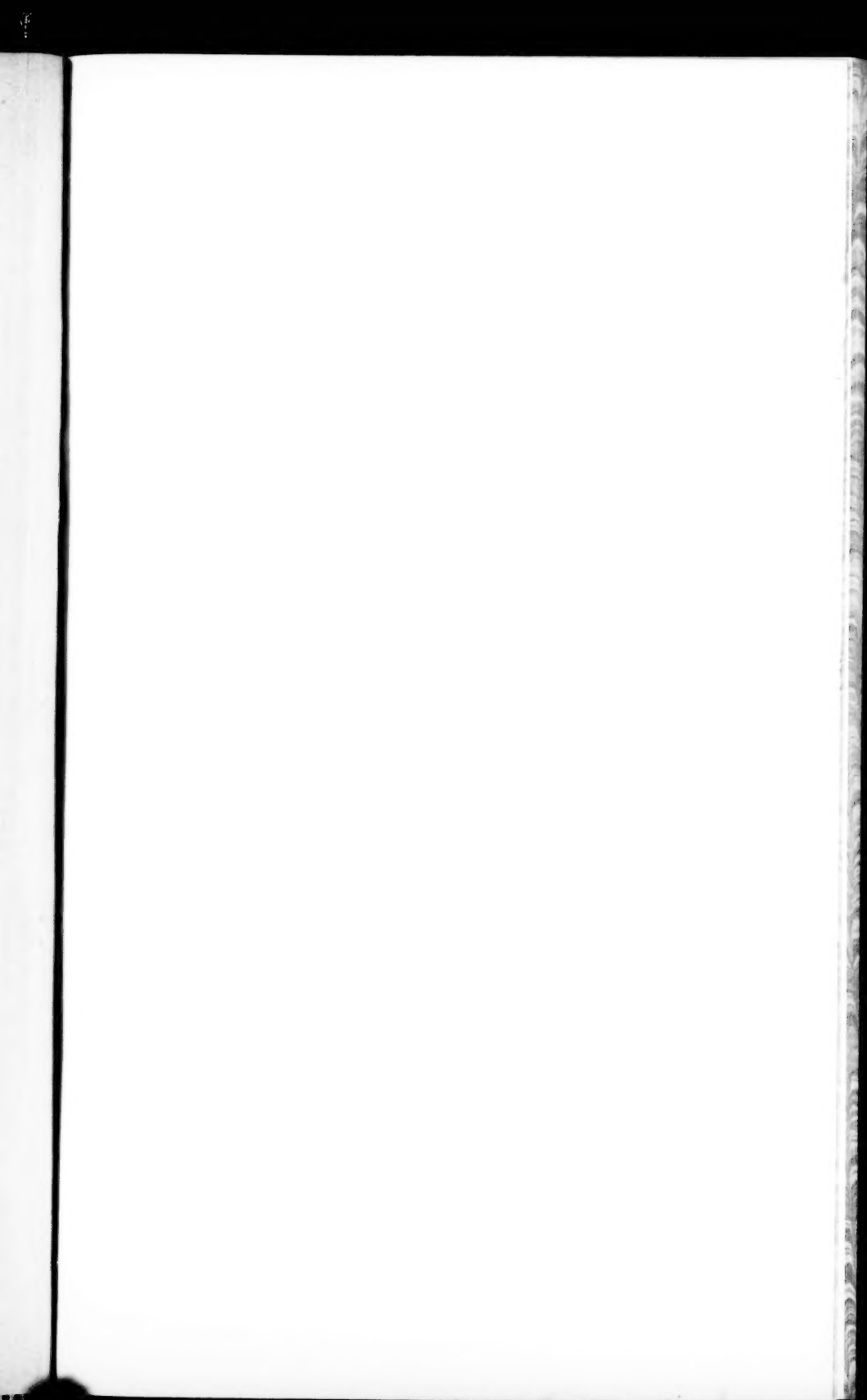
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H. B. Thidmore

METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1886.

ARTICLE I.—WOMEN AND MISSIONS.

FEMALE DEGRADATION IN HEATHEN LANDS.

THE human race is composed of about an equal number of male and female persons. Loosely speaking, there are therefore on the earth seven hundred millions of women and girl-children, and within each century some two thousand millions of these fill up each a life-time and pass away. The thought is a stupendous one. Very evidently social economists, legislators, or ecclesiastics have not adequately considered the special needs, merits, capacities, and influences of this half of the human family. The world has not yet seen "woman's hour."

It is a dreadful story, this, with which we have already grown most sadly familiar, of the degradation, the wrongs, and the sufferings of women in non-Christian lands. The illustrations of their misery are so multitudinous and so monotonous that one is bewildered to select from them.

The relation of marriage, which under the ennobling influences of Christianity has been exalted almost to a sacrament, presents throughout the entire history of non-Christian peoples a lamentable record of violence and of sin. The old Maroons of Jamaica and the present Thibetans of Asia furnish us with samples of peoples without a substitute for a form for marriage in the one case, or any judicial sanction of it in the other. The Hassaniyeh Arab recognizes a "three-quarter" marriage—of legal obligation only three days out of four—while in Mocha all marriages are temporary. In Thibet, wives are "pawned" and loaned, and in parts of China they

are hired to other men. The communal marriage—wherein all the women are married to all the men, as recommended in the Platonic Republic—is by no means unknown to history, though it imbrutes men and women, shocks every sense of decency, and at best graduates childhood, as beasts in an agricultural pen. “Wife-capture,” wherein women have been stolen, speared, clubbed, or otherwise half-killed in the process, has been, or is, too wide-spread to allow of even the enumeration of the peoples who have practiced it. From Australia to Kamchatka, from the Eskimo of the north, on through Brazil and Chili, to the Patagonian of the South; or afar, where the Polynesians, the Fijians, the Philippines, and other Pacific Islanders preserved the custom; among Caucasians, Arabs, and Negroes, the story has the same hue, and makes one blush to know himself a man. Polygamy and polyandry, whether in Thibet, Ceylon, New Zealand, the Aleutian Archipelago, among the Cossacks or the Orinocos, afford little relief to these wretched chapters of human life. We close our eyes to a record of systematic debasement and oppression, which compels us to pity even when we may not relieve.

Girl-life, among more than half the population of the globe, seems the cheapest thing in the dust-bin of human possessions. A missionary lady in China tells of twenty-five women between thirty and sixty years of age, personally known to her, among whom were born sixty male and one hundred and twenty female children. Of these, twenty-one males and twenty-three females lived till ten years of age. Eight males and thirty-one females were destroyed at birth. Another missionary lady in the same country knew of one hundred mothers who had destroyed one hundred and fifty-eight female children; forty, who had destroyed seventy-eight, and six who had destroyed eleven.

The motives which induce the practice are too many to admit of enumeration. If a mother has not borne sons, she often destroys all her female offspring that she may the sooner hope to have a son. If she have sons, two or three girls may be allowed to live, but any thereafter will be smothered at birth, because of the expense of rearing them, or from some more oblique cause.

The government of India, in 1871, investigated the crime of

infanticide in certain provinces, among the Rajputs. The report of the magistrate reads like a romance set on fire of hell. It contains statements like these :

The Baboos of Bhudawur Kalan live in ten villages, in seven of which were found one hundred and four boys and one girl. Their other villages are said to contain two girls. These villages are notorious for Suttee monuments, and their tanks are said to be paved with infants' bones. . . . The Baboos of Nagpore live in twenty-seven villages. In the nineteen visited were found two hundred and ten boys and forty-five girls. The Baboos of Purtabgarh live in five villages. In the two visited were found thirty-one boys and one girl. One girl is said to exist in their other villages. The Baboos of Asagpoor preserve their old reputation. They have twenty boys, and no girl has ever been known in their village.

The explanation that these men do not marry in their own tribe implies that they can secure all the wives they want from other tribes, though the women and their parents know that girl-children will be thus disposed of. But this only emphasizes the low estimate in which infant girl-life is held. The government of India has absolutely prohibited infanticide, yet there is a regular system secretly maintained for the purpose of concealing it which so far baffles detection, that there is scarcely a village in India, if indeed there be a hamlet, whose shrine is not desecrated by this form of murder.

The tendency to degrade women has not been checked by the civilizations of Eastern nations. Nine hundred years before Christ, Manu, the reputed author of the Hindu code, collected and systematized the law current in his time, and this coming to be accepted as authority in jurisprudence and religion, directed the tendencies of the nation, checked growth by creating an undue veneration for antiquity, and degenerated the family by assigning to woman a low place in society and in religion. Says Manu :

Day and night must women be made to feel their dependence on their husbands. . . . Let not a husband eat with his wife, nor look at her eating. . . . Women have no business to repeat sacred texts. . . . No sacrifice is permitted to a woman separately from her husband, no religious observance, no fasting.

Women of high caste were then unveiled in public, were to some extent educated, and under given circumstances were

allowed to choose their own husbands. While other things have entered into the case, such as the Moslem invasion of which we will presently speak, yet it remains, that the seeds of disrespect for woman, which resulted in her social degradation, were abundantly present in the statutes of this so-called Hindu civilization. And we may add incidentally, so sure is the vengeance which a just Creator takes on the oppression of the weak, and so inexorably has he united the fortunes of the men and women of the world, that it has not yet occurred in human history but that the degradation of woman has necessarily resulted in the deterioration of the entire structure of society. In every land where woman is thrust down she drags man down after her.

If there was that in Hinduism which involved steady decline in the social status of its women, there was that in Mohammedanism which precipitated it. Nineteen centuries later than Manu (A. D. 1000) the Moslems invaded India, and an alien race became the paramount power. They introduced the rude manners of an unbridled soldiery, invaded the sanctity of the Hindu's home, and took from his side his betrothed daughters or the mother of his children. Among the classes able to keep their women in zenanas, enforced seclusion followed, and among others, a conventionalism which required absolute non-intercourse from all social approach between women and men except within a very limited range of near relations.

With zenana seclusion came early marriage and the infant betrothal, and for the same reason. The census of the North-west Provinces of India showed in 1881 no less than 280,790 married girls under nine years of age, and over a million between the ages of ten and fourteen.

The early marriage brought terrible evils in its train. There was increased risk in child-bearing, stunted growth of mind and body, separation of the girl from parents and family at a tender age, impossibility of moral and religious training, wifelyhood while not fitted for companionship, and motherhood while not mature enough to sustain or to educate children. Well may Dr. Mohendra Lal Sircar say :

It is the greatest evil in India. It has stood, so to say, at the very springs of the life of the nation, and prevented the normal expanse of which it is capable. It has degraded and keeps in a

degraded condition, the race. It is a most disastrous barrier to the progress of Christianity and of every thing good. It lowers the standard and comfort of the domestic circle. It panders in a most unnatural way to passion and sensuality. It raises the rate of mortality in the family and society generally, and diminishes the general interests, pleasures, and innocent amusements of the family circle. It injures their present and their future, robs them of their just rights, their brightest jewels, and most valued possessions.

The early marriage and the infant betrothal implied child-widowhood. Of 124,000,000 females in India, according to the government census of 1881, there were 21,000,000 widows, 78,000 of whom were under nine years of age, 207,000 under fourteen, and 382,000 under nineteen, or, roundly, 600,000 widows, nearly all of whom ought never to have been married.

The Hindus of Calcutta alone counted 58,000 wives and 55,000 widows. From a variety of motives it came to be recognized in the land that widows should not remarry. Originally it was not so. Outcast, deserted, and superseded women, as well as widows, were formerly allowed to remarry. But among the higher classes this has long been prohibited, and the British government has, through its courts, acknowledged the binding force of both the infant betrothal and the prohibition of remarriage of widows. Hence the land is full of the groanings of child-widows.

Another link in this concatenation of abuses is the illiteracy of the female portion of the population. Female education can be effectually promoted only after the abolition of the early-marriage system. Women in India have been kept in illiteracy for a thousand years! In the census already alluded to for 1881, it was shown that in the North-west Provinces alone, over 21,000,000 girls and women were in absolute illiteracy; and among a total population of 125,000,000 in the country not over 70,000 were able to read and write.

It must not be supposed that the Indian women are necessarily incompetent, nor that the country does not afford illustrations of natural mental ability in women. Says Mr. Hunter, President of the Education Commission of 1882:

As a matter of fact there always have been women of great accomplishments and strong talents for business in India. At this moment one of the best administered native states has been ruled

during two generations by native women, the successive Begums of Bopal. Many of the most ably managed of the landed properties or zemindaries of Bengal are entirely in the hands of females; while in commercial life, women conduct through their agents lucrative and complicated concerns. . . . The intellectual activity of Indian women is very keen, and it seems to last longer in life than those of men. This, though the idea of giving girls a school education as a necessary part of their training for life, did not originate in India until quite within our own day.

Yet another thing to guard against is the fancy that woman thus depressed and degraded has no influence. In all lands women are the conservators of religion, whether that religion be true or false. Hon. Justice Muthusami says of their general influence, "The women of India rule the men."

Still further let us guard against the notion that these women are indifferent to their depressed state. It is in a vein of sad satire that they say: "We are cats, we are cows; how should we know? As we came into the world we go out of it; all we know is, we die like sheep."

"The life we lead is just like that of a frog in a well," said a Hindu zenana woman. "Every-where there is beauty, but we cannot see it."

"Any life is better than this," says another heathen woman; "even an animal, a worm, is less miserable."

Turning once more to China, we find the illiteracy of females not the same in all parts of the empire. In North China the estimate is, that in sixty or seventy out of every hundred families of wealth the females are able to read. "I have found the wife of a Chi-fu of Taiyuen," says a missionary, "to use all the fingers of both hands in counting up the books she had read, and that means learned by heart."

In Shantung, however, not more than one woman in five hundred could read. Possibly a fair estimate for even this literary nation would be, taking the whole of China proper, that one woman in three can read.

There is one other feature of Chinese society which ought not to be wholly unnoticed, even in this hasty allusion to the more prominent ills which the Chinese woman is heir to—namely, domestic slavery. It is not easy to write with accuracy about the girl-slavery of the Chinese Empire. A reliable writer "knows of girls disappearing," or, as it was said, "gone

to spend a month with friends." Sometimes pressure for money comes on the family and the daughter is *pawned*; sometimes it is said plainly that her father has taken her to a distant city to sell her. Sometimes she is handed over to the purchaser by indirect methods. The girl is at play and is "kidnapped," and no tidings of her can be obtained. After a month it turns out that her elder brother, or the head of the house, and therefore the disposer of the liberty of the females of the family, was in debt, and the "kidnapped" girl had been sold, and delivered according to previous arrangement.

WOMEN'S MISSIONS TO WOMEN.

It was in 1834 that Dr. David Abeel, one of the earliest missionaries to China, being in England for rest, told of the degradation of the women of the East, and drew up an appeal to the Christian women of Great Britain that resulted in the organization of "The Society for Promoting Female Education in the East," which society, after half a century, has efficient missions in almost all parts of the non-Christian world.

When Dr. Abeel reached the United States he met a company of women in the parlors of that eminently practical saint, Mrs. T. C. Doremus, in New York city, and made an appeal to the women of America as he had done to those of Great Britain. It was not till after twenty-five years that—what Mrs. Doremus called "a seed long buried"—this address of Dr. Abeel gave the impulse for the organization—and that in the Doremus parlors too—of the "Woman's Union Missionary Society of America," the mother-society of those whose work we have now to pass under review.

"What are you women going to do when the war is over?" asked one Christian woman of another, while a few years ago both were engaged in the great activities of the Sanitary Commission. There was little thought with them, or with any one, that God had women in training then for much greater work elsewhere. They became experts in organization and administration on a large scale. Vast and independent responsibilities were upon them. They grew under them and up to them, and at the close of the war were as a giant waked out of a dream. The Providence which had been enlarging their capacities and developing their resources, had, during those

same years been preparing a new field for their exercise by most marvelous changes in political, social, and religious affairs in Asia, through which were afforded hitherto unknown opportunities for reaching the women of the East by the women of Christendom. None but a very dull student could fail to discern the relation between this agency, flushed with its triumphs in camp and hospital, and the Providence which set before them this new "open door." Nor were they slow to enter it.

Within less than a decade, occurred the most extensive and rapid organization of the religious activities of Christian women that ecclesiastical history records, and their achievements have become the characteristic feature of the missionary work of the last quarter of a century. Following the admirable "Woman's Union Missionary Society," large denominational organizations of women for this foreign work sprung into existence in the following chronological order: The Congregationalist Woman's Board (1868), the Methodist Episcopal (1869), the Presbyterians (1870), the Baptist Missionary Union (1871), the Protestant Episcopal (1872), the Reformed Dutch Church (1875), and the Lutheran (1879).

The two Congregational women who met to pray weekly for eight months before venturing to make a call to consider the propriety of an organization of a Woman's Board, though unnamed, and the nine women who met in Boston to organize the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, will be memorable in future ecclesiastical history. The Congregationalist women led off with a constitution which accorded them large responsibility in the management of their work at home and abroad, the Secretary and Prudential Committee of the American Board being an advisory committee to whom the missionary candidates selected by the ladies were referred for appointment. The Methodist Episcopal women followed with an organization, not auxiliary to the Parent Society, though pledged to work in harmony with it, with a separate and wholly independent treasury, guarded from dangerous repletion by a restriction which left the ladies none but wholly supplemental methods of raising funds. They might take no public collections in the churches. Their candidates were to be approved by the Parent Society, which retained a veto

power over its appropriations. Its agents on any foreign field were to be subject to the Church and missionary authorities on that field. In later years they have become subject to the appointment of the Bishop as component parts of the local Conference. The initial power to "appoint" to any field remains with the ladies here, as well as the right to determine the fields they should occupy, and the number and character of agents to be employed, the ladies being held *de facto* responsible for the conduct of their work both at home and abroad.

The Baptist ladies have only independent responsibility in their home management, while the entire direction of their work in foreign parts is left with the committee of the Baptist Missionary Union. Nor is theirs exclusively a work among females. Besides supporting boys' schools, they support much of the educational work in the foreign fields of their parent "Union." To some this would seem a more felicitous adjustment than that of the Methodists, and there are special reasons why in some parts, as in Burmah, it is not necessary to separate the sexes in school and society; but we note the fact, that the Methodist Episcopal ladies, who have more exclusively woman's work, and greater responsibility in the administration of their affairs, have raised much larger sums of money than have the Baptist women, with mixed work and the absence of responsibility in foreign parts. Comparing the income of the two societies for the first seven years of each, the Methodist ladies raised fifty per cent. more than their Baptist sisters, and extending the comparison over fourteen years, they raised one hundred per cent. more.

So far as conflict between so largely independent bodies as that of the Woman's Society and their Parent Board in the Methodist Episcopal Church goes, experience shows that no greater friction has arisen in the course of sixteen years than is common to all societies within the circle of their own separate administration, and none which Christian courtesy and good sense have not enabled them to adjust.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

As to the general administrative capacity and judgment with which the ladies of these several societies have conducted their affairs, a sort of consensus of Christian judgment is expressed

in a report adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, after an experience of seven years with these Women's Boards, in which they said :

It is our unanimous opinion that what God has thus raised up, and so signally prepared and sanctioned, ought to be encouraged to do its own chosen work in its own way.

The American Board also expressed a discriminating judgment when it said :

The wise economy, the prudent management, and the results achieved by Women's Boards may well challenge the admiration and the emulation of the other societies.

Among the gravest responsibilities assumed by Missionary Boards is that of authorizing expenditures on anticipated income. If they fail of their estimated resources, the result is indebtedness. It demands, therefore, the most careful and experienced exercise of judgment to avoid embarrassing the work abroad or involving the society at home. The Congregational Woman's Board is relieved of this responsibility, because they raise their money one year and expend it the next. They cannot have any debt. The Wesleyan (British) Missionary Society made a temporary experiment of this kind, but soon returned to the usual practice of the societies. It is to the credit of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that while they have authorized expenditure on estimated income, events have always justified their judgment. Accepting foreign responsibilities to the verge of their boldest faith, they have never yet closed a year *with a dollar of indebtedness*, while they have advanced their income from a very small beginning to \$200,000 in 1885 : a sum not equaled in the annual receipts of the Parent Society during the first thirty-two years of its existence, a period double that of the history of this society.

Incidentally a question so often suggested deserves a passing word. It is sometimes asked, "Is not the income of the Women's Societies detrimental to the receipts of the Parent Boards?" Perhaps no better answer can be given than a statement of Rev. N. G. Clark, D.D., Senior Foreign Secretary of the American Board. What he states is, *mutatis mutandis*, true of all the denominational societies. He says :

Looking at the question on the financial side alone, the work of the different Woman's Boards has been of greatest value. Exclusive of the two great bequests, the receipts into the treasury of the American Board from donations and legacies for the last ten years were between four and five hundred thousand dollars in excess of the previous decade, and this difference was due to the Woman's Boards. From them was received over one million dollars. Admitting that one third, or even one half, of this sum would have come into the treasury of the American Board had there been no such organization, and it is still true that the advance in the aggregate receipts for the last ten years was due to the Woman's Boards.

Constructing a similar argument for the Methodist Episcopal Church, if the term be extended to the sixteen years of the existence of the Woman's Society, we would show that the Parent Society's receipts have advanced within this period over four millions of dollars as compared with the preceding sixteen years, though those were inflated by war currency. If, following the American Board, we add the income of the Woman's Society to that of the Parent Board for these later sixteen years, it would show an aggregate advance of eighty per cent., or almost five millions of dollars, on the preceding sixteen years. Whether this is absolutely fair as an argument or not, there can be little doubt of the aggregate increase of missionary receipts because of the existence of our Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. It must also be borne in mind that these ladies are supporting much work previously cared for by the Parent Board.

The ladies have exhibited both literary ability and business enterprise in the conduct of their magazines and other literature. The periodicals of most of the societies have been almost if not wholly self-supporting, and some are sources of revenue. The paper published by the ladies of the Baptist Board transferred a surplus in 1885 from its periodical account to the secretary's salary account of \$1,247. "Life and Light," published by the Congregational Woman's Board, has sustained itself from the start. The "Heathen Woman's Friend," of the Methodist Woman's Society, has not only paid its total cost from the beginning, but has supplied a large revenue which has been expended, in part, in the publication of gratuitously circulated literature calculated to convey information and arouse an interest among the women

of the Church. During last year alone it furnished the funds for the publication of 1,800,000 pages of such literature, and also for the current expenses of a vernacular paper in India for circulation among women in the zenanas. After granting \$2,293 50 for the above purposes in 1885, it transferred to investment account \$1,850. For years it has furnished funds for similar purposes, yet it has an accumulated fund of \$10,600, invested in bonds and banks.

The business tact and judgment of the Methodist women have been exhibited in all departments, but our brief space only admits the noting of the fact that they have collected over a million and a third dollars, and have over two hundred thousand dollars' worth of real estate in India, China, Japan, Mexico, South America, and Bulgaria.

Much has been said in discussing missionary economics about the gratuitous services of the ladies of the several Boards, and perhaps too much emphasis has been sometimes placed on the fact that they had only unsalaried officers. This is not the place to discuss the question of unpaid official services, in benevolent societies in general, and missionary societies in particular. Almost all the larger missionary organizations have judged it best to secure paid secretaries, with the notable exception of the Church of England Missionary Society. Even the ladies' societies have not always found it possible to secure the most efficient agents without larger or smaller, direct or indirect, financial support being given to them.

While all this is true, it does not lessen the appreciation due, and accorded, to the magnanimity, self-sacrifice, and holy charity of these unsalaried women, who for the cause they hold dear, and for the love of their divine Lord, have gladly accepted care and responsibility, hardship and toil, that they might arouse their sisters at home to sympathy with their sisters beyond the seas.

ONE AMONG MANY.

A typical representative of these Methodist women is the "elect lady" whose portrait furnishes the frontispiece to this number of the "Review." A Methodist of Methodists, "to the manner born," she brought to this society, as its first and, till now, its only metropolitan secretary, an esoteric appre-

hension of the spirit and aims of her Church, acquired in the associations of the home of her father, the senior Dr. Thomas E. Bond, and a full understanding of the purpose and plans of a missionary management with which her husband was associated from its inception, till death made room for his son to become his successor. We may say in passing, the chariot that halted for Skidmore, Janes, and Durbin bore from our missionary councils in 1876 a trio not easily equaled—eminent for the practical business ability and judgment of the first, the devout wisdom and zeal of the second, and the creative power and prevision of the third.

In her own right also Mrs. Skidmore represents her associates. Practiced for more than thirty years in the management of noble charities like that of Five Points Mission in New York city, and disciplined to appreciate the best type of spiritual life as a class-leader in the Church of her choice through a third of a century, she was fitly furnished to sympathize with those whom she was to join in sending into the maelstrom of heathenism, and to encourage by her example that *abandon* of consecration and fervor of faith which have so signally marked this movement.

OPERATIONS AFIELD.

Twenty-five years ago it was a question what Christian women could do in heathendom. So narrow was the apparent sphere of operations for them, and so little had they been allowed independently to attempt, that it was held in many quarters that "the addition of this class seemed to add nothing to the working force of the mission. . . . A little work already begun by married women was put into the hands of the unmarried. Nothing new was attempted. There was no lengthening of lines and strengthening of stakes." Some pronounced it "the greatest folly of modern missions" to send those women into the field.

In truth, there was unequal demand because of the unequal social relations in different quarters of the globe. It was not true, for instance, in Northern China, as it was in Southern China, that no evangelistic work among women could be done except by women. In 1879 Rev. Mr. Richard, of the English Baptist Mission, baptized within ten days 130 converts in the Ching Fu, of whom 65 were women. Others, even unmar-

ried men, found no difficulty in prosecuting this work. But there could be no question as to the country at large. The speediest way to evangelize a nation is, undoubtedly, to evangelize the women of that nation. The only way to reach the women of China generally was to reach them in their homes. Chinese women are not accustomed to go from home to be mentally quickened by contact with other minds. Men hear the Gospel in the markets and chapels where they are gathered from long distances; not so the women. Assuming that half the population are women, it would seem at first flush that half the evangelizing force should be women, but second thought suggests that because the women must be reached in isolated household congregations, and because native women till past middle life must be "keepers at home," possibly the proportion of women evangelists should be much greater. The young men can give the vigor of their best days to evangelizing the men, but it is only the older women who can become evangelists. An eminent missionary lady says of the Chinese women :

They are not public speakers. They work in the family from house to house, and through the mothers reach the children. They do that thing, and they do but that one thing. As hardly any Chinese women know how to read, as the old women rarely leave their villages and the young women seldom leave their houses, the only way is to carry the Gospel to them.

Of course in India the conditions of society demand the separation of the sexes. Mr. Cust but voices the common judgment when he says, that it is neither "likely nor desirable that for some generations the rule should be broken, for it might lead to greater evils. Until a great change comes over the structure of Indian society in Northern India, it is as well that in railways and churches, as in schools and hospitals, the sexes should be separated, and a decent reserve maintained in alluding to their existence."

The forms of work of the Woman's Societies may be classified as Benevolent, Educational, and Evangelistic. Yet as all these elements enter into each portion of the work, this is but an imperfect classification. The orphanages sustained by these ladies have been very effective as educational and evangelistic agencies. From them have gone the wives of native preachers, zenana teachers, Bible readers, and medical women, and they have

been the scene of profound religious awakening, and wide revival influences both in India and Japan. Their benevolent character is manifest in their origin, specially in India. Few people have occasion to realize what famine is, as frequently experienced in Asiatic countries, when within a single province two or even four millions of people die of starvation in a few months. Few living things are spared. Insects die in the fields, and fishes in the shrunken rivers; oxen, dogs, jackals, and even field-rats starve in the land. Household utensils, ornaments, the very doors, are sold for food, and all cares, all affections, all hopes are forgotten, while famished, demoralized, maddened, brutalized men cast cannibals' looks and even devour each other. Pestilence follows; where the dead lie they rot; babes try in vain to draw life from the shrunken breasts of dead mothers; living skeletons, more fortunate, stalk into the cities, and are seen gnawing blue marl for lack of food to appease their hunger. It is a terrific picture that no mortal would care to describe, if ever he could.

Out of such pestilence and body of death came our first group of orphan boys and girls in the Methodist Episcopal Orphanage of India. When the Woman's Society got fairly into operation it relieved the Parent Board of the management and support of the girls in this institution. It is beyond human skill to catalogue the Christian influences and evangelizing forces from that institution, which are now building up a strong, self-reliant Christian community among seventeen millions of people in North India. It would be a pleasure to speak of the exceedingly rare qualities of the ladies who have had these institutions in charge.

Of the extensive educational enterprises of this society, orphanages form a part, but only a part. We cannot within our limits more than allude to this extended and well-organized school work. These schools have had large influence in India. They demonstrate to the national government that such education was possible, and became its auxiliary when it undertook the same. A few facts will give force to this remark. The government Education Commission in 1882 reported a total of 127,066 native girls in school throughout the empire, of whom nearly one half were under missionary instruction. Of the whole, 6,379 were in mission boarding-schools, 40,897 in

mission day-schools, and 9,132 under instruction by missionaries in zenanas.

These schools are efficient as an evangelizing agency, their enemies themselves being judges. Although they have exerted less power on Moslems than on others, yet even they have felt the influence so strongly that they have been led to organize in Northern India a "Society for the Promotion of Islam and the Education of Females." In their appeal to the public on behalf of this society they confess that the Christian schools are undermining the faith of the Moslem children.

Miss Isabella Thoburn, the first appointee of this society, rejoices in a girls' school in Lucknow which the government recognizes as the best of its kind in Upper India, and which the native community says is a "standing monument of her powers of organization and management." A movement is already inaugurated to exalt it into a college.

It is not alone in the intellectual results of these schools that we rejoice, but in the gracious revival influences which have been manifest in them. In the girls' schools in Japan, the influence of which is felt throughout the empire, the revival power has been great; eighteen of the girls applied on a single Sabbath for baptism in the one school at Nagasaki. The next day the religious interest was so great that the recitations had to be suspended, and the girls were found weeping and praying in their rooms; still later, fourteen more of the girls were converted. One man who had two daughters in this school for some time was converted, and also his wife. He asked for the names of the parents of all the girls in the school, for he said he must go and tell them, as he is sure when they know what this Christianity is they will surely embrace it. This revival is also immediately related to the introduction of the Gospel into Korea by an interesting incident for which we regret that we cannot make room.

We cannot now set forth the high esteem in which these schools are held by governments in most lands where they are established. There is something touching about the statement of the Yokohama school that when, by some new and unheard-of arrangement, the government officials directed that the pupils of this school should come into the same examination as their own, that these girls all knelt down and asked God to help

them, and when they arrived at the place of examination some of the other scholars shouted, "O, here comes the Jesus Christ school; they cannot pass!" Yet they did, every one of them. One of the examiners asked of another, "What school is this in which every child has passed?" and the answer was, "Why, it is the one known as the Jesus Christ school."

It would be interesting to trace the effects of similar girls' schools in Bulgaria, South America, and Mexico, for their influence is percolating the social order where they are placed, though they suffer by comparison in the reports with some others in Asia, possibly because their work often does not admit of being made public, lest their enemies come into their secret. Not only was all possible obstruction offered to these schools in Bulgaria, for instance, but the bishop said he would have them driven from Loftcha and from Bulgaria "if it cost every hair of his beard."

We have not spoken of the 2,000 zenanas in which over 4,000 of the women of India are under instruction by these Methodist ladies alone, because it is difficult to separate this from another feature of the work, that of the *Female Evangelist*—an agency which, we think, promises more for future evangelical results than any other. "Nothing but the old apostolic plan of evangelism will answer," says Rev. H. Williams, of the Church Missionary Society, "namely, proclaiming the tidings of salvation to every one who will hear it. Men are wanted to preach to men, women to women."

After forty years' residence in India, filling every civil post in the empire from lowest to highest, Sir William Muir says that "a recognized component part of a fully equipped mission should be a *Female Evangelist*." Mr. Cust, the able linguist, long familiar with missions by official residence in India, and by profound study of them through other years, alluding to the small missionary force of the world, says:

My suggestion is to make a fuller use of women. Call upon that sex which no longer deserves the conventional epithet of the weaker or less wise, to supply the vacuum and stand in the gap. But they must have precisely the same allowance, be provided with similar accommodations, and placed on the same footing.

Never was there more wealth and warmth of welcome awaiting a visitant than is accorded many a Christian woman

evangelist by the women of non-Christian lands! Never was there a greater power to be awakened for the redemption of mankind than that which Christian women may exert over the homes and the mothers of heathendom. How eagerly these women listen to the story of Him who came to relieve the oppressed! "One holds my hands, another my feet," says one of these workers, "as I begin to tell them of Jesus." Many are the touching incidents of the reception of the truth, though but partially understood. How many there may be, none can tell, who, neither churched nor chronicled, have believed savingly in Christ on fragmentary knowledge, like that dying girl in the zenana where no ordained minister could enter, who, having given up her babe, asked for water, and when it was brought crowned herself, laying her open Bible across her head, *baptized herself*!—and died. There are many millions of these secluded women in India. How many are indirectly learning of the truth, though not counted in the congregations, and how far and wide these Female Evangelists may be scattering the Gospel, no statistical tables will enable us to understand. Incidents often cast light upon the subject. One old woman was standing on the outskirts of a crowd at a bathing place on the Ganges River near Cawnpore, where Nana Sahib massacred four hundred Christians. A foreign lady evangelist was talking to two hundred heathen women, and singing to them, and with them, of Christ. "Your singing is drawing my heart this way," said a little old woman on the outer edge of the company. "I have been standing here a long time and can't go away. Every night as I go to sleep I hear you singing,

'Yisu Masih mero prana bachaiya'

('Jesus Christ has saved my soul'),

and I sing it too all day in my heart as I do my work." Many a zenana woman who has not found Christ, yet finds her experience summarized in that of her Hindu sister who said, "We are birds in a cage still, but you have taught us to sing."

The Methodist women are teaching, systematically visiting and praying with, more than a thousand Moslem and Hindu women in the city of Lucknow alone; and they employ 182 native Female Evangelists, known in their terminology as "Bible readers," who are threading the intricate lanes of Indian cities, wandering by the banks of the Yang-tse and the

silver La Platte, sitting under the sunny skies of Italy, or on the fertile plains of Mexico, climbing the Balkans, sailing the seas of the Mikado's empire, and entering the gates of the "Hermit Nation," until it seems that "the women that publish the tidings are a great host."

Before these societies were formed the pigeon-holes of the Secretaries of our Missionary Society were choked with applications of suitable women to serve in these fields, and there has been no hour since, when we could approximately exhaust the supply of devoted, educated, and sensible women ready to give themselves to this work. How slow not only we but the whole Protestant Church has been to learn the meaning of it all! How timidly all the denominations have stood, saying these women could not be sent unprotected—could not, with their Christian purity, be thrown into such maelstroms of heathen vice, or were not competent to act except under male supervision!

But they have gone—gone from homes of culture, halls of learning, and the enchantments of Christian society—gone to isolation and to the dreariness and monotony of heathen misery—gone into public melas, private hovels, and lofty mansions in India and China, camped among wild Koords, crept on hands and knees amid the smoke and vermin of the Zulu's kraal, sung Christian hymns to cannibal crowds, slept quietly on the Infinite Arm in the habitations of cruelty and the abodes of lust, "scribbled" the seas with "the centric and eccentric" of their journeyings, risked health and life in ways named and unknown, bound up offensive wounds, sympathized with the fallen, trained children, given to mothers a loftier ideal of motherhood, addressed themselves to national reforms in the interests of their sex, and been "living epistles" of the everlasting Gospel. And all this they have done, not under the impulse of mere sentiment, but with patience that could plod, with ingenuity that could create, and with practical wisdom that could conserve, they have prosecuted their work in a way and with results which may challenge comparison with that of their sisters, or even of their brethren, of any century and of any clime.

ART. II.—A PLEA FOR THE STUDY OF LITERATURE.

IN one of the most piquant numbers of "*Fors Clavigera*," Mr. Ruskin tells of a lady who attended with great pleasure a series of lectures on Botany, in the course of which the lecturer averred that "the object of his lectures would be entirely accomplished if he could convince his hearers that there was no such thing as a flower." Upon which statement Mr. Ruskin comments as follows:

Some fifty years ago the poet Goethe discovered that all the parts of plants had a kind of common nature, and would change into each other. . . . In a certain sense, therefore, you see the botanical lecturer was quite right. There are no such things as flowers—there are only leaves. But in the deepest sense of all, the botanical lecturer was, to the extremity of wrongness, wrong; for leaf and root and fruit exist, all of them, only that there may be flowers. He disregarded the life and passion of the creature, which were its essence.

Mr. Ruskin's comment may serve to indicate, in a pithy way, the radical difference between the scientific and the literary methods of study and thought. The plant means one thing to the botanist, and quite another and different thing to the poet or man of letters. The botanist scans it carefully to discover all the physical facts about it; he wishes to know of what parts it is made up—what similarities there may be among these parts—what is the function of each—what changes they may undergo in the growth of the plant—what analogies there are between each of them and the parts of other plants—how it grows from its first germination to the time when it has produced the fertile seeds of other plants and then dies. It is facts and laws he is after—laws that are only sequences between facts.

But for all these things the man of letters cares very little. He rather asks, What is the plant made for? Its different parts are doubtless adapted to each other so as to secure its growth and reproduction; but what was the plant made for? what does it mean? And he naturally says it was made for its highest form of beauty, for its highest power over human sympathy: it was made for flowers. And so Mr. Ruskin says that, "in the thought of nature herself, there is in a plant nothing else but its flowers."

In like manner Mr. Matthew Arnold says that poetry (and it is equally true of all imaginative literature) "has the power of so dealing with things as to awaken a wonderfully new, full, and intimate sense of them, and of *our relations with them*. It is not Linnæus, or Cavendish, or Cuvier who gives us the true sense of earth, or water, or animals, or plants—who seizes the secret for us, who makes us participate in their life; it is Shakespeare with his

‘Daffodils

That come before the swallow dares, and take
The winds of March with beauty;’

it is Wordsworth, with his

‘Voice . . . heard

In spring-time from the cuckoo bird,
Breaking the silence of the seas
Among the farthest Hebrides;’

it is Keats, with his

‘Moving waters at their priestlike task
Of cold ablution round Earth’s human shores.’”

The botanist studies the plant in its physical relations. His method is analytical, and he proceeds by intellectual processes of observation and comparison to the discovery of facts and laws: he begins by pulling the plant to pieces and ends in knowing how it is put together. To him it is always a physical thing. But the poet cares for the meaning and the suggestion which the plant brings to his imagination and emotions. To him it is a living thing with moral significance and power, and he certainly does not want to pull it to pieces, for then it would be “a plant no more, and only litter on the floor.” To Peter Bell in the poem,

“A yellow primrose by the river’s brim,
A yellow primrose ’twas to him,
And it was nothing more;”

but Peter Bell was neither man of science nor man of letters, and it is a wonder that he noticed even that the primrose was yellow. But to the botanist, the yellow primrose by the river’s brim would have been “*Primula officinalis*—a pubescent, exogenous herb, bearing oblong, spatulate leaves, and umbels of regular perfect pentamerous yellow flowers, the five stamens opposite the lobes of a salver-shaped corolla; mostly of riparian

habit." To Wordsworth, or Shelley, or Burns it would have been something quite different, as one of them has said :

"To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

Now what is thus true of the different ways in which the scientist and the poet regard the plant is equally true of the ways in which they regard all things. One takes the scientific, the other the poetic or literary view of life and affairs. One studies to get a clear, intellectual perception of the logical relations of things to each other, their similarities and causes—that is, sequences—for science can never get farther than that, and knows no other idea of cause. The other studies the relation of things to man's higher moral and emotional nature.

This, however, need not imply that these two very different attributes are not possible to the same man. Certainly the same man may have much of the faculty of the scientist and of the temper of the poet. Nor need we claim that the intellectual power to take the scientific view of things is any less desirable than the imagination and sympathy necessary to take the literary view. It is only needful to indicate that there is a difference between the scientific and the literary temper. They both may be possessed in a considerable degree by the same person, but they cannot both be entertained at the same time.

Literature is the fit expression in language of this literary view of life. The term literature is, indeed, often used vaguely to cover all the written product of a people which is, for any reason whatever, of permanent value. In this sense the term English Literature would cover the *Principia* of Newton—at least in translation—and the *Novum Organum* of Bacon ; and so the term Greek Literature would include the *Analytics* of Aristotle. But such books as these are science and philosophy, not literature in the narrow sense in which we must use the term. It is not necessary to give a scientifically accurate definition of literature ; it will suffice for our purpose to define it as the record in language which the facts of life leave upon our imagination and our emotions. And the greatness of literature is measured by the breadth of the life thus interpreted to our emotions, and by the elevation of the emotions to which it appeals. Sometimes the range of life with which a writer sym-

pathizes is not very broad, but his emotions are very noble. That was the case with Milton, and in somewhat less degree with Shelley; and their work is justly called great. Sometimes the range of life with which an author sympathizes is very wide, but his emotions are not especially lofty or profound. Such is the case with Chaucer or Walter Scott, and yet their work is justly called great. And sometimes the range of life that is comprehended is very wide, and the emotions lofty also, and then the work is greatest of all; that is the case with Shakespeare.

It may perhaps be said that this definition includes only poetry. "Poetry," says Matthew Arnold, "is the criticism of life;" and Mr. Austin says, it "is the imaginative interpretation of life." But these definitions seem to be of literature rather than of poetry, and they mark the distinction between literature and science. They surely include all creative literature; not poetry only, but fiction and even criticism, which aims to give us a sympathetic appreciation of letters. They do not include history and biography as such; yet it may be said that history and biography derive most of their charm from their power to appeal to our emotions. Without any of the distinctly literary charms, history sinks at once into chronicle and political data, and biography into annals. It will be understood, then, that we mean by the literary temper the disposition to view things in their relation to the imagination and emotions; and by literature, the record of such relations.

With this definition before us, we are in better position to ask what are the advantages to be gained from a study of literature. The question, indeed, hardly seems to need a detailed answer, for it certainly cannot need argument to show the value of a quick perception for all the ministries of life to our imagination and emotions. And, be it noticed, we are speaking of literary study purely. A classic, ancient or modern, may be made the subject of philological or grammatical study, and that study may be very important in its way, but it is not literary study, but purely scientific. And it is doubtful whether the two methods of study can be advantageously combined; at any rate we must do one thing or the other with our classic, not try to do both at once. Of course this statement should not be held to exclude all diligent study needful to ascertain the exact meaning of the author we are reading, and to enable

us to enter intimately into his exact feeling; and this will often necessitate much verbal study, for a great writer does not use his words carelessly or wastefully. He does not throw in two or three random epithets to fill his meter or round his period. Great writing is always that into which the writer has put his best thought and his most earnest feelings, and when a man does that he is sure to feel that language is poor enough at best. No one can read a great play of Shakespeare or some of Milton's best verses, and get the *whole* of the author's thought and feeling, or any near approximation to it, without giving to every sentence as deliberate and earnest attention as he would give to a demonstration in Euclid.

Every educated man, whatever his work or profession, will have to write some and talk much more, and marvelously difficult things these are to do. The older a man grows, the more he realizes the value and the difficulty of accurate, graceful, forcible speech. No instrument that we shall ever learn is so intricate, so varied, so difficult as our every-day language. Speech is chiefly learned by unconscious *imitation*, and we keep on learning it all our lives in the same way that we acquired the elements of it in our childhood. Rhetorical study can do little more for us than to point out the best models and to indicate a few principles to guide our observation. The rest must be done by reading and practice. It is not necessary to point out how much value the careful study of our own great English writers must have in enlarging one's vocabulary, in familiarizing one with correct and vigorous forms of expression, and in cultivating a nice sense of rhetorical method and proportion. The man who has read well usually writes well. He may write with labor and difficulty, it may be a sore task to him; since facility in writing comes much less from natural application than from constant practice. But his taste will become so cultivated that he will know the difference between good and bad writing, and he will be dissatisfied with any thing poorer than his own best ideals. It will almost always be found that a great writer, however imperfect his education may have been in other respects, has been at some time early in his life an earnest and careful reader of the best books.

Perhaps the three men in our century who have shown the greatest mastery of English are De Quincey, Carlyle, and Rus-

kin—and every body knows what readers they were. Before he left the university, De Quincey had fairly saturated his mind with Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Sir Thomas Browne, and Jeremy Taylor; and he showed the influence of these men in every line he ever wrote. Carlyle, who certainly was an original writer if any one ever was, says, that though he learned not much of any thing else at Edinburgh University, he did take to reading. "From the chaos of that library," says he, "I succeeded in fishing up more books than had been known to the keeper thereof; the foundation of a literary life was thereby laid." And Ruskin, in his autobiography just now publishing, tells us that when he was yet a child he had Walter Scott's novels and Pope's Homer for his constant study on week days, and "Robinson Crusoe" and the "Pilgrim's Progress" on Sundays; that before he was twelve years old, his mother had forced him to learn by heart the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy, the 119th Psalm, the Sermon on the Mount, the fifteenth of First Corinthians, and the most of the Apocalypse; and that before he was fourteen, he had heard read aloud by his father again and again all the comedies and histories of Shakespeare, and all of Walter Scott. It is no wonder that, as he says, it was for him impossible, even in the foolish time of youth, to write entirely superficial or formal English.

But good books develop our power of expression, not merely by widening our knowledge of the mechanism of speech, and by giving us a vocabulary and rhetorical taste with which to use it. They assist us perhaps even more by cultivating those emotions upon which the effectiveness of speech largely depends. For speech is designed to tell not only our thoughts but our feelings; and unless our thoughts be colored with feeling, our speech, though it may be precise, is sure to be blank and dull. And the best literature always stimulates our sense of the emotional interest of things and of their human relations, and gives to our thoughts about them that warmth of feeling which makes speech earnest and moving. "I have to read Burke's 'Letter to a Noble Lord' once a month," said Rufus Choate; "I get sick if I don't." The "Letter to a Noble Lord" is precisely the one of Burke's works which has least of political or legal interest and most of the literary. Choate took it as a tonic for his feelings. The

brilliant and scholarly man, who so ably filled the chair of rhetoric in this college twenty years ago, said on one occasion to his students that it was his habit, whenever he wished to write or speak his very best, to get his feelings in tune by reading some favorite passages of Shakespeare or Milton. Beyond all question, the careful study of the best literature, by cultivating the imagination and emotions, enables the writer not only to see his subject but to *feel* it also, and to set it in those relations in which it shall appear to others most attractive and moving.

Another incidental reason for the study of literature is to be found in the light which it throws upon all the *history* of the past. The truest history of any civilized people—their only real history indeed—is written in their literature, and can be known only through that medium. The mere record of external events, the succession of kings, the story of battles, the chronicles of the intrigues of diplomacy and of political struggle—this is not all of history, nor the most important part of it. If we would know the real history of a people we must look behind all the externalities of their story, and discover how *they* lived and worked—what they believed and hoped—what were their ideals, their aspirations, and to what ends their efforts, social and political, were consciously or unconsciously tending. And all these things we shall find best revealed in literature; it is quite possible to write a famous history that shall tell us almost nothing at all about them. A man might read the third and fourth volumes of Hume's history and not have any idea of the sixteenth century of England when he got through with them. But no man with any blood inside of him can read some of the Elizabethan dramas, or Spenser's "Faery Queen," or some of the ringing lyrics of that age, without feeling as if he had been there. Will not the Greek scholars tell us that there is no history of the Athens of the fifth century before Christ so good as that in the plays of Aristophanes? And is there any writer that can so make one at home in the Augustan Rome as can Horace? Or, coming to more modern times, suppose a man to read all the half dozen or so very good histories of the age of Queen Anne; all of them together could not give him so real a sense of the age as a little reading in the *Spectator* or *Tatler*, or in the essays of Swift and the verses of Pope.

It is not intended, however, to say any thing in depreciation of the study of formal history and of political science, which for any man, and especially for any young American citizen, are certainly among the most important studies. But whoever would fully understand any past age must realize for himself the national sentiment and feeling of that age, and for that he must go to its literature.

Another advantage of the study of literature, which it shares with that of history, is its power to extend our human sympathies into the past, to make us feel the oneness through all time of our common human emotions, and so to know ourselves to be part of the great procession of the ages. Any system of culture is very imperfect that does not accomplish this; that does not quicken our perception of all human relations, and make us realize more deeply our kinship with those who have gone before us. It is one of the choicest and most ennobling results of a real education, that it extends our narrow and exclusive admiration for our own time by widening our views, and bringing us into a more intimate sense of fellowship with all the great thought and exalted feeling of the past. Across all the centuries of change we feel that one human heart is beating still. In the sorrow of a Priam or a Lear—in the passion of a Cleopatra or a Juliet—we read as freshly as though they were of but yesterday the records of our common humanity. Without this sympathy which links him to the past, a man is indeed isolated; shut up in the narrow room of the present, the race without it would be like the flies of a summer.

There is reason to distrust the culture of those writers who are forever praising our own age of advancement, and chanting the triumphs of modern thought and latter-day progress as if the millennium had set in about the time they arrived upon the scene. Our age is no doubt an age of progress—most ages have been—and we trust that through all the ages one increasing purpose runs; but there is nothing in our achievements that should set us upon any very lofty eminence above the men of other days. Our own age has certainly been noted for its advance in the physical sciences, and for the application of these sciences to the mechanical and industrial arts. It is an age of steam, and iron, and electricity, and of most wonderful and many-fingered machinery, which enables millions of herded op-

eratives to make almost every thing without need of any brains of their own. But if we measure our age by the truth and elevation of its thinking—by its quickness to perceive the noble and beautiful—by its lofty imagination and its unselfish heroism—by its enthusiasm for moral and religious ideas—we shall not find any special reason to plume ourselves overmuch. Certainly in all our modern progress we are not likely to get beyond the illumination of Plato, and Cicero, and Dante, and Shakespeare, and Milton. To talk of having advanced beyond these great men, and hundreds of others, is about like talking of having walked past a star; we may not see it before us just now, but that is only because we have changed our own direction. Be sure the stars are shining there still, and we may find it worth while now and then to turn about and look at them. That man who does not feel this reverence for the past—this solemn sense of the continuity of history and the pathos of human life—is lacking in the most important elements of culture, and, however clever he may be, he is hardly a great man.

When our greatest statesman, Daniel Webster, first visited London, he was given a complimentary breakfast shortly after his arrival by some eminent political and literary Londoners. It was there Carlyle met him, and carried away the image he afterward made so famous:

One of the stiffest logic buffers and parliamentary athletes anywhere to be met with in our world at present; a grim, tall, broad-bottomed, yellow-skinned man, with brows like cliffs, and huge, black, dull, wearied, yet unwearable-looking eyes under them, and the angriest shut mouth I ever saw. A droop on the sides of the upper lip is quite mastiff-like—magnificent to look upon; it is so quiet withal. I guess I should like ill to be that man's nigger!

So said Carlyle; and in truth our Webster neither seemed nor was much of a sentimentalist. But Sir Henry Taylor tells us how, that morning after breakfast, a few of his friends took the great American into Westminster Abbey. Webster stepped into the Poet's Corner, looked about him in silence for a moment on the solemn reminders of the love and genius and greatness of the past, then threw up his hands to his face and burst into tears. No proof of weakness that, but rather of the depth of his nature! Now it is this feeling to which literature makes its appeal, and which it tends to deepen and strengthen.

And in this respect literary study has a great advantage over scientific. The motive power of science being intellectual curiosity, it is always after *new* truth. Science always has its back to yesterday. Scientific truths once established pass into the stock of the common knowledge of the world; they are assumed as the postulates of further investigations; they are taken up into wider and more inclusive truths, and so lose altogether their own individual interest. Thus the greatest scientific book that the world has yet seen may in the course of a century come to be antiquated, so that no one will read it, even though all its conclusions are accepted and have become part of the world's thinking. De Quincey, in one of his essays, makes a distinction between what he calls the literature of knowledge and the literature of power. The first is by its very nature only of temporary interest; the second, everlasting.

As soon as a Laplace or any one else builds higher upon the foundations of Newton's book, he effectually throws his structure out of the sunshine into decay and darkness; by weapons taken from that book he superannuates and destroys the book; only the name of the author remains as a mere *nominis umbra*. But, on the contrary, the *Iliad*, the *Prometheus* of *Æschylus*, the *Othello* and *Lear*, the *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, or the *Paradise Lost*, are immortal and forever triumphant. . . . They never can transmigrate into new incarnations.

But this distinction which De Quincey is making between what he calls the literature of knowledge and the literature of power, is plainly enough nothing else but the distinction between recorded science and literature. What he calls the literature of knowledge is nothing more nor less than scientific writing, and science has no past. It is fitly symbolized by the torch that illumines the present, and then, with glowing radiance, passes quickly from the grasp of to-day to the waiting hand of to-morrow.

The study of literature has still more direct and immediate uses than any of these. It is valuable not merely as a means to such ends as these, but for its own sake. The study of literature may contribute in no inconsiderable degree to the happiness of life, and happiness is a legitimate object of pursuit. What a fund of refined and exalted pleasure is always at command of the man who really loves good books! Among the sources of happiness open to an intelligent man we ought doubtless to

rank highest the moral and religious ones—the correspondence fixed with heaven and the quiet approvings of a good conscience. And next to these as sources of happiness come the domestic affections, the joys and the charities of home; but next in the rank of pleasure, below these and below these *only*, are the pleasures of literature. He who has really made himself at home in the society of the best and wisest men who have gone before him, though his life may appear to be lonely and isolated, need never really want for companionship, for entertainment, nor for inspiration. The great works of literature are like our best friends in this respect, as well as in others, that we do not tire of them. Whatever writings appeal to the intellect only are of no interest after we have once fully appreciated their meaning, but writings that appeal to the imagination and emotions have a perennial interest. We never care to have an old thought repeated without change or enlargement; but an agreeable emotion, however well remembered, often becomes more agreeable by repetition. A great work of literature cannot be exhausted by a single reading, nor by any number of readings. The growth and widening of our own experience only enlarges and quickens our sympathy for the emotions of the writer, and discloses meanings and suggestions we had not felt before. A great work of letters embodies the deepest experience of a great mind, and one finds himself more and more responsive to its meanings and its power as his own experience broadens and deepens. And even when some lesser book, some simple song, seems only to revive the same old emotion which it stirred at first, that emotion comes back with a throng of priceless associations that have been linked with it in the course of other years. Our literary intimacies inweave themselves with our best feelings, and become a part of our life. There is no metaphor in the phrase “The friendship of books.” That man is to be pitied who has no familiar friends among good books. His must be a dreary and vacant life; and all the worse for him if he never knows it to be such, and never feels himself solicited to retire from the idle noises of the world to the higher companionship of letters.

But it is not pleasure merely that is to be gained by literary study; no study gives more real profit. The assumption is not

to be tolerated, which still seems to be tacitly entertained by a good many people, that the study of literature, especially of our own literature, is only a kind of accomplishment, desirable, doubtless, if one can find the time, but to be placed among the elegancies rather than the essentials of an education, and provided for after what are sometimes called the more solid parts of a course of study have been attended to. This view is fortunately not so prevalent now as it was some score or more years ago, when all the English literature taught in our colleges consisted of a few mostly biographical facts crowded into a single term. But there are yet survivals of this view now and then to be met with. In opposition to all such notions it must be stoutly affirmed, that while not claiming superiority over other recognized branches of higher education, the study of literature is inferior in value to none, and it deserves a place side by side with the most essential. The practical value of its results, considered merely as knowledge, is not at all inferior to those of any other study. Even in the narrowest and hardest sense of the word "practical," it is as truly practical to know what goes on in a man's heart as in his stomach—since we believe that man does not live by bread alone. But the value of literary studies lies principally in the fact that they are not "practical" in the narrow and mischievous sense of that term. When men insist that their studies should be practical, they often mean that they should tend directly to material acquisition, to money-making. It may be granted that all education ought to tend, more or less directly, to increase a man's efficiency in most forms of practical activity; but it is not true that a liberal education ought to be planned principally with a view to material results, or pursued with any such motive. It ought rather to counteract the narrow and exacting spirit of materialism, and to broaden and elevate the whole man. Nearly all studies naturally tend to that result if pursued in the right spirit; but it is the peculiar advantage of literary studies that they can hardly be pursued from the lower motive. If followed successfully at all they will be followed from the love of them, because they are felt to be their own inspiration and reward. They teach us that the real end of all education is to make better men and women, and to develop a symmetrical and elevated character.

The cultivation of the intellectual powers is only one part of

an education, and it can claim no pre-eminence over the other parts. Not only should the perceptions be quickened and the powers of comparison and reasoning strengthened, but also, and with equal diligence, must the imagination be enlarged, the healthy emotions multiplied, and the sympathies refined. The intellect is not the whole man, nor indeed can it be called the highest part of man. It is in the realm of the moral emotions that we find that part of our nature which is the most truly godlike. Indeed, the grandest thoughts are never conceptions of the pure intellect, but they are always tinged with emotions, and they belong less to the philosophers than to the poets.

Nor can it be said that the intellect is more susceptible of cultivation than the imagination and emotions—that educational methods can get at it more easily. There are, of course, native differences of endowment; but as a rule, men are as susceptible of training on the side of the sympathies and the imagination as on the side of the perceptive and the reasoning powers. And without this cultivation of taste and imagination a man, however acute or highly trained his intellect, is a hard and narrow man. He has missed the essential element of culture and the surest safeguard against vulgarity. For vulgarity of mind does not always arise from lack of intellectual training. There are intellectual giants among the Philistines. Vulgarity is matter of feeling. The intellect may tell us what is the *true* in the narrowest logical sense, but for the *beautiful* and the *good*—for what is noble and humane in sentiment or action—the intellect has no appreciation. Men sometimes speak depreciatingly of “matters of taste,” as if they were hardly worth the while of an earnest man to think much about. And if they mean by taste only a power of judging nicely between pleasures of the senses, they are right. But taste, in its broader and higher sense of a susceptibility to refined emotions, a power to discriminate between the higher and the lower emotions, and the instinctive preference of the higher, is a matter of very great importance, and on it largely depends not merely our own happiness but our usefulness, our power to influence, to persuade, to ennoble others. It is taste in this broad sense that catches in the hard realities of daily experience some gleams of the ideal, nourishes our aspirations, and sets the spiritual above the material in our estimates of life. And is

there not just now sore need of developing this power in this vaunted age of progress, when attention is drawn so irresistibly to the lower side of life, with an increasing complexity of material interests? Even literature itself seems to have lost something of its ideal and imaginative qualities, its power to inspire and arouse, and to be sinking to a dull realism. There is no English-speaking poet of eminence that is not over sixty years old, and in fiction we are fallen into an atmosphere of intense earthliness.

Let it not be thought that this culture of the imagination and of the emotions which is referred to as essential to the amenity and grace and elevation of character is a thing which pertains exclusively to the sentiments. It is sure to have moral results and to issue in conduct. It is a commonplace that no action is ever determined by intellectual convictions merely; and it is equally true that the habitual conduct of a man is uniformly decided by the tone of his emotions. Out of the heart are the issues of life. Underlying every man's conduct there is doubtless some form of beliefs more or less definite, and this intellectual basis of action is of very great importance. If it be weak, his actions will be hesitating and uncertain; if mistaken, though honest they will often be futile or even harmful. But it is still true, that only when our intellectual beliefs are warmed with emotion do they pass into motives, and have power to influence the will. In fact, all our thinking on practical matters is of necessity tinged with emotion; for one cannot consider any thing that pertains to conduct in the dry light of pure intellect. No truly practical education can, therefore, leave out of sight the culture of those emotions on which all conduct depends, and which can be most effectively cultivated by the study of literature. Purely didactic teaching is powerless over conduct. All the moral philosophy in the world never made a man moral. It is not instruction we chiefly want, but inspiration, sympathy, and spiritual elevation.

True, there is a bad literature as well as a good, and the bad book may have some elements of greatness and permanence. But in the long run, in the literary art only the good is the lasting. The false may win applause and notoriety, but the moral sense will ultimately assert its supremacy in men's literary judgments, and only the true will achieve fame. The

great poet has the penetrative imagination which sees the facts of human nature truly, the healthy sympathy which feels them; and in art this truth of imagination and feeling constitutes morality. In letters, as in life, you will find Emerson's aphorism holds good, that

"What is excellent,
As God lives, is permanent."

And when we remember that the study of any work of literature calls into exercise not the intellect only but the sympathies—that we must take an author's meaning into our reflection till we can *feel* as he does—is it not evident that there can be no better form of discipline for the emotions, none more sure to ennoble and refine them, and to issue in higher and purer conduct, than this spiritual companionship with great souls to which literature invites?

Better than any thing else can literature perform the great service of planting truth in the heart, where only truth can be fruitful. Say what we will, it is in the books which are the repository of the best thoughts of the best men that we may most surely look for that

"Gracious light
That does not come with houses or with gold,
With place, with honor, and a flattering crew;
That is not in the world's market bought and sold—
But the smooth slipping weeks
Drop by, and leave its seeker still untired
As on he fares, by his own heart inspired."

ART. III. — ORIGIN OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

THE Methodists in the United States entered upon a new departure after the war which, in 1783, gave independence to the country. The history of that new departure is far more obscure, in several of its features, than it is commonly supposed to be. That history, too, is, save in its bare outlines, unfamiliar because it has never been fully written, nor, so far as written, generally read. As we shall see, the movement to establish a new Church with complete ecclesiastical adjustments on this

continent was begun but not consummated at what is known as the Christmas Conference of 1784.

Prior to the arrival of Dr. Coke, in November, 1784, the government of the Methodist Societies in the New World centered in John Wesley. He sent two preachers hither in 1769, namely, Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor. They labored here under Wesley's authority, as did their brethren in England. In 1771 he sent two additional laborers, namely, Francis Asbury and Richard Wright. In October, 1772, Mr. Asbury received from Mr. Wesley authority to act as his "Assistant"—that is to say, as his delegate or deputy. Asbury served in that capacity until 1773, when two other preachers were sent hither by Mr. Wesley, namely, Thoinas Rankin and George Shadford. Mr. Rankin had been a traveling preacher longer than Asbury, and the office of "Assistant" was transferred from Asbury to him. He exercised its functions until he fled from the country in 1777. Communication with Wesley was now cut off by the war, and, says William Watters, "Mr. Asbury, the only old preacher that determined in those perilous times to give up his parents' country, and all his natural connections, was finally and unanimously chosen by the preachers assembled in Conference our General Assistant." *

* The meeting of preachers by which Mr. Asbury was chosen "General Assistant" was not the regular "Conference," but an assembly called together informally at Mr. Asbury's retreat, in Delaware, a short time before the regular Conference, which met, agreeable to the resolution of the Conference of 1778, in Fluvanna County, Va. In the "Methodist Quarterly Review" for January, 1876, is an account of these affairs, the correctness of which, so far as we know, has never been called in question.

"The year 1779 was a notable one in the early history of American Methodism. The war of the Revolution was then at its height, and all the English preachers had fled the country, except Asbury, who was secreted at the house of a friend in Delaware. Here Asbury called together as many preachers (sixteen) as were within reach, and held a 'Conference' with them. This body . . . began by recognizing Asbury as 'General Assistant' for America. . . . In due time the regular Conference assembled according to appointment, . . . at which there were present a considerably larger number than at the meeting with Asbury in Delaware."—Pp. 123, 124.

This latter body, says Stevens, was the "regularly appointed Conference legitimately adjourned from the preceding year," and if so, that in Delaware was not, in any legal sense, a Conference at all. The next year, also, there were two rival Conferences—the regular one, appointed by the Fluvanna Conference, met in Powhattan County, Va.; the other, with Asbury, in Baltimore. The two bodies were strongly opposed to each other on important questions of administration. The

The title "General Assistant" really meant General Superintendent. Asbury having been thus chosen by the preachers in Conference to superintend the work, "fixed their appointments" until the end of the war. Peace reopened communication with Mr. Wesley, and about one year before the Christmas Conference of 1784 Asbury received from him the appointment to the office to which his brethren had chosen him. This office he continued to exercise until the arrival of Dr. Coke in the autumn of 1784.

Coke brought to the American Methodists two important documents which bore the signature of Mr. Wesley. The first was a certificate of his own ordination by Wesley, as a Superintendent of the Methodist Societies in America. The other document was called a "Circular Letter," and was addressed "To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in North America." It informed them that Mr. Wesley had "appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint Superintendents over our brethren in North America, as also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey to act as elders among them, by Baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper."

Now, how did Mr. Wesley come to send Dr. Coke to America at that time on such a mission, and with such authority?

We are able fortunately to give the answer to this question in the language of the man who was then the General Assistant, or Superintendent of the American Methodists, and who, therefore, was in a position to know all the facts to which he testifies, namely, Francis Asbury. He says:

When the Methodist preachers came first to this country, one half of the continent was overspread with different names and orders of Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, English, French, German, Holland, Scotch, and Irish, with many Quakers. In the southern part were Episcopalians. They had but few churches and no bishops. The Methodists were not organized, and had not the ordinances among us. As some in pleasantry said, "We were a Church and no Church." In some places we communed with the Episcopalians.*

two sections came together in Baltimore, in May, 1781, at which session a reconciliation was effected; but we have no account of the appointment of Mr. Asbury by the reunited body to be "General Assistant." It is most likely that it was never done, but that he continued to serve as such "informally."—ED.

* Asbury's Valedictory Address.

In another place the same authority says :

The people of Mr. Wesley's charge in America—many thousands—were under total privation of the ordinances of God, and most of the Episcopalians had deserted their stations and churches from almost every part of the continent. The Presbyterians held no open communion. The Methodists could not become Presbyterians in sentiment—they would not be Baptists, neither Independents. Multitudes came forward as constant hearers and members of the Society, and immediately the tables of the Lord in their former churches were closed against them. When our brethren would say, "O that you had been ordained to administer the ordinances of God to us!" it was of no account to say the Episcopal bishops would not ordain us. "Mr. Wesley should have ordained you." And thus for fourteen or fifteen years hundreds and thousands of preachers and people [were] crying continually for Mr. Wesley to ordain ministers for America.*

In the following passage from his Valedictory Address Asbury outlines the course of events which led to the appointment and ordination of Coke, and his advent here in 1784 :

In 1779 some of our brethren in Virginia attempted to organize themselves into a Church ; but in 1780 the writer of this address visited them, when they agreed to suspend their administration, and with united voice call upon Mr. Wesley to make some provision for them. Accordingly, in 1784, our faithful father, Mr. Wesley, ordained Thomas Coke Bishop or General Superintendent.

The exigency of the unordained preachers of America, and of their people who demanded the sacraments at their own altars, was so urgent that Mr. Wesley was compelled to provide some way for giving the preachers ordination, or else leave them to solve the difficulty themselves by proceeding to ordain one another—as the preachers in the South had done in 1779—and then to administer the sacraments on the authority of such ordination.

What provision should Wesley make ? He was far advanced in years, having passed his eighty-first birthday, and he did not think it best to undertake the long voyage to America. He might have sent for Mr. Asbury to cross the ocean and receive ordination at his hands. He did not, however, choose that method. He resolved to ordain Dr. Coke a General Su-

* Asbury's letter to the Rev. Joseph Benson, in Appendix of Bishop Paine's "Life of Bishop McKendree."

perintendent. He also furnished him with a Liturgy, which in addition to the Sunday service contained a litany for use on Wednesdays and Fridays, and forms for ordinations for superintendents, deacons, and elders, together with the Articles of Religion for the use of the American Methodists; and with these he sent him as his ambassador to this country, to ordain preachers according to the requirements of the existing emergency.

It should be observed that Mr. Wesley acted at this juncture solely upon his own authority. He did not, so far as has ever been shown, consult any person or persons in America about the appointment of Dr. Coke as a Superintendent, or about the liturgy, the hymn book, or the Articles of Religion. His course in appointing Mr. Asbury General Assistant in 1783, when he had been already chosen by the preachers to serve in that capacity, and his requirement, in 1784, that the American preachers, in accepting ordination from him through Coke, should proclaim their unqualified submission to him as their ecclesiastical ruler, shows that Mr. Wesley held his personal will in relation to Methodism in this country to be decisive and final. He had been informed that the preachers and people desired Mr. Asbury to continue to act as General Assistant, which, with the exception of the power to ordain, was the same as Superintendent.* He of his own motion appointed Coke, and ordained him. He evidently did not think it wise to supersede Asbury, so he appointed him joint superintendent with Coke. His great object seems to have been to provide for the American Societies an ordained ministry, in order that they might be furnished with the sacraments of the Church. This he had been long and earnestly implored to do, although it does not appear that the Methodists of this country ever asked or desired him to give them a separate Church organization.

In receiving Dr. Coke the Methodists of the United States welcomed him in the name of Wesley. Coke had no authority to speak or act except what he derived from John Wesley. Whatsoever was done by him, therefore, was done in Wesley's

* William Watters, a member of the Christmas Conference, says in his autobiography, pp. 104, 105: "From first to last the business of General Assistant and Superintendent has been the same, only since we have become a distinct Church he has with the assistance of two or three elders ordained our ministers."

name. He was nothing but the agent and instrument of his principal ; Wesley under God was all.

As Coke was directed by Mr. Wesley to ordain Asbury as a joint Superintendent, his first business, of course, was to see his designated colleague. While in New York, however, he conversed with John Dickins respecting his embassy. Mr. Dickins was one of the ablest of the preachers, and probably as influential among his brethren as any one except Asbury. According to Coke, Dickins fully accepted Mr. Wesley's authority, and entertained no thought that any one would venture to suggest a revision of the plan. Coke, in his Journal, Nov. 3, 1784, writes in New York :

I have opened Mr. Wesley's plan to Brother Dickins, the traveling preacher stationed at this place, and he highly approves of it ; says that all the preachers most earnestly long for such a regulation, and that Mr. Asbury he is sure will agree to it. He presses me most earnestly to make it public, because, as he most justly argues, Mr. Wesley has determined the point, and, therefore, it is not to be investigated, but complied with.*

According to this view Coke would have fulfilled his mission had he proceeded at once to make proclamation thereof, and to ordain such of the preachers as he saw proper. He, however, chose to see Mr. Asbury before he took any step forward. Asbury, according to the opinion which Coke attributed to Dickins, could only submit to the behest of Mr. Wesley, as conveyed by Coke.

On the 14th of November, 1784, at a quarterly meeting at Barratt's Chapel in the State of Delaware, Dr. Coke for the first time met Francis Asbury. In his Journal he says :

After dining in company with eleven of our preachers at our Sister Barratt's, about a mile from the chapel, Mr. Asbury and I had a private conversation concerning the future management of our affairs in America. *I privately opened our plan to Mr. Asbury. He expressed considerable doubts concerning it, which I rather applauded than otherwise.* He informed me that he had received some intimations of my arrival on the continent ; and as he thought it probable I might meet him that day, and might have something of importance to communicate to him from Mr. Wesley, he had therefore collected a considerable number of the preachers to form a council, and if they were of opinion that it would be expedient

* Coke's Journals, p. 13. London, 1793.

immediately to call a Conference, it should be done. They were accordingly sent for, and after debate were unanimously of opinion *that it would be best immediately to call a Conference of all the traveling preachers on the continent.* We therefore sent off Freeborn Garrettson like an arrow from North to South *the whole length of the continent, or of our work,* directing him to send messengers to the right and left, and to gather all the preachers together at Baltimore on Christmas Eve.*

It is evident from the above, that when Dr. Coke conversed for the first time with Mr. Asbury concerning his mission, new views were suggested by the latter to him. Asbury, unlike Dickinson, did not at once approve of all that Mr. Wesley had done in the premises, although it seems certain from his statements which I have already given that he did not object to the purpose Wesley had formed of giving ordination to the preachers, and thereby the sacraments to the people. He had long desired and sought this provision at Mr. Wesley's hands, and surely now that Wesley had granted what he had so earnestly and importunately prayed for, he would not hesitate to receive it. Yet, says Dr. Coke, "he expressed considerable doubts concerning it." Asbury obviously believed that he had rights which he was not required to yield even to the venerated Wesley. And those rights he had the courage to assert.

The question is both interesting and important, inasmuch as it relates to the origin of Methodist Episcopacy in the United States—the question, namely: What were the "considerable doubts" which Mr. Asbury expressed to Dr. Coke respecting the mission upon which the latter had come? Let us see if that question can be answered.

James O'Kelly published a work entitled "The Author's Apology for Protestings Against the Methodist Episcopal Government. Richmond, 1798." As this transcript of its title-page shows, O'Kelly's work was issued in the year 1798. In the year 1800 the General Conference took action concerning it as follows:

Resolved, That Brothers Roberts and Snethen be requested to draw up an answer to James O'Kelly's book, and that Brother Morrell assist them with his judgment in the process of the work.†

*The italicized words in this quotation are not found in the volume of Coke's Journals, but are found in his Journal as printed in the "Arminian Magazine" (American), in 1789.

† General Conference Journal, vol. i, p. 44.

This work was performed by Mr. Snethen, who published his "Reply" to O'Kelly in 1800. The "Reply" was quickly followed by O'Kelly's "Vindication" of the "Apology." In the year 1802 was issued a second pamphlet in defense of Asbury and the Church, entitled "An Answer to James O'Kelly's Vindication of his Apology, and an Explanation of the Reply. By Nicholas Snethen." Before this last work of Snethen was published it passed through Asbury's hands, as he certifies in the following statement in his Journal February 5, 1801: "I received the compilation of N. Snethen, intended as an answer to James O'Kelly. It is well done and very correctly done, except in a few cases." The "Answer," which was not published until more than a year after this attestation to its correctness was given by Asbury, may be regarded, as to its historical facts certainly, as Asbury's utterance, or at least as having his approval.

In this "Answer to James O'Kelly's Vindication," the general correctness of which Mr. Asbury affirmed, the following facts were recorded:

The proposal which was made by Mr. Asbury, and agreed to by the Maniken town Conference* and the process and the termination of the plan of the Fluvanna Conference† was transmitted by Mr. Asbury to Mr. Wesley, when the war ended in the acknowledgment of American Independence.‡ Dr. Coke was dispatched to America with authority to establish an independence

*The Maniken town Conference was that at which the Southern preachers, that is, those in Virginia and North Carolina, agreed with the committee from the North, composed of Asbury, Watters, and Garrettson, to suspend their ordinations and administration of the sacraments pending a reference of the controversy to Wesley.

†The "Fluvanna Conference" was the Conference of 1779 held in Fluvanna County, Virginia, in the absence of Asbury (who was then in retirement on account of the war), at which it was determined to institute ministerial ordination and the administration of the sacraments. For this purpose a committee was formed consisting of Philip Gatch, James Foster, Leroy Cole, and Reuben Ellis, and the Conference agreed "to observe all the resolutions of the committee, so far as the said committee shall adhere to the Scriptures." "The committee invested with the power proceeded to ordain each other and then to ordain those preachers who were desirous of receiving ordination." (Memoirs of Gatch, pp. 68, 71.) This procedure Asbury opposed, and the Northern Conference (Baltimore) stood with him until the Conference at Maniken town in 1780, when the ordinances were suspended and the case referred to Wesley.

‡In his Journal September 16, 1780, is this record by Asbury: "Wrote to Mr. Wesley at the desire of the Virginia Conference, who had consented to suspend the administration of the ordinances for one year."

of the hierarchy of the Church of England by ordaining the American preachers, etc. Mr. Asbury would accept of no powers from the doctor without the consent and choice of the preachers who were called to meet in Conference. Among the rules offered by the doctor was one designed to preserve the future union between the British and American Methodists.* Mr. Asbury objected to it in the form it was proposed as unreasonable and highly improper. He thought that as the Societies in America had continued for a number of years without any such obligation, to require it immediately after the peace would be attended with unhappy political consequences, as it was well known that Mr. Wesley had written in favor of the British ministry. But the doctor contended for it, and Mr. Asbury agreed to submit if it met with the approbation of the preachers. The obligation being laid before the Conference met with opposition, but it passed in the form in which it was printed in the Minutes. See page 2, question 2. What can be done in order to preserve the future union of the Methodists? Answer. During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the Gospel, ready in matters of Church government to obey his commands. And we do engage after his death to do every thing that we judge consistent with the cause of religion in America, and the political interests of these States, to preserve and promote our Union with the Methodists of Europe.†

With the reader's indulgence I will here recall to his recollection two or three facts: 1. For a considerable time the work had gone on in this country without any direction from Mr. Wesley, his General Assistant or deputy, Mr. Rankin, having fled from his post in September, 1777, and entered the British lines, and communication between England and America being interrupted by the war. 2. During that period of non-

* This scheme for "union" seems to show that an "independent Church" was not designed by Mr. Wesley.

† With respect to the requirement to accept this rule of Mr. Wesley, Asbury, in his Journal, vol. ii, p. 322, says: "I never approved of that binding minute. I did not think it practical expediency to obey Mr. Wesley at three thousand miles distance in all matters relative to Church government." In a letter to the Rev. Joseph Benson, Asbury says: "He [Wesley] rigidly contended for a special and independent right of governing the chief minister or ministers of our order, which in our judgment went not only to put him out of office, but to remove him from the continent to elsewhere that our father saw fit. . . . After the Revolution we were called upon to give a printed obligation, which here follows, and which could not be dispensed with—it must be: 'During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the Gospel; ready in matters relating to Church government to obey his commands,' etc. Our people and preachers were coming out of their childhood—they thought for themselves. If this obligation was necessary, why not introduce it in former years?"

intercourse Asbury, the only preacher sent by Wesley who remained in the country, with the consent of the preachers served as the Overseer, or Bishop, if you please, of American Methodism, stationing the preachers, and otherwise supervising the work. 3. During this period of home government, which extended over several years, the cause was more prosperous than ever before, notwithstanding the tribulations occasioned by the war. No wonder then that Asbury, who was fully identified with the country and with the rising Methodism within its territory, which latter was composed, he tells us, of only about 500 members when he came hither, and which for so long he had successfully governed, objected to surrender all his power to the venerable father of the Methodist people, who was separated from his children in America by three thousand miles of ocean when steam-ships were yet unknown. When Coke met him with authority from Wesley to divide the labors and the responsibility of the superintendency with him, and requiring in Wesley's name absolute submission to the supremacy of the great English apostle in all matters of ecclesiastical government, it is not surprising that Asbury "expressed considerable doubts concerning" such measures and requirements. Asbury was able to so set forth the reasonableness of his "doubts" as to gain Coke's acquiescence, at least in a good degree, for Coke says of them, "I rather applaud than otherwise."

Two or three facts are thus settled beyond all controversy or doubt: 1. That when Dr. Coke explained to Mr. Asbury the mission on which he had come, Asbury expressed his opposition to Mr. Wesley's requirement, that the American Methodists should submit to his absolute personal government. 2. That Mr. Asbury refused to accept the superintendency by the appointment of Mr. Wesley. Respecting this point Asbury in his *Journal* of November 14, 1784, says:

I was shocked when first informed of the intention of these my brethren in coming to this country. It may be of God. My answer then was, if the preachers unanimously choose me, I shall not act in the capacity I have hitherto done by Mr. Wesley's appointment.

Had he accepted the office from Wesley he would have been responsible to him as his chief and as the source of his authority. 3. That Mr. Asbury placed the authority of the

American Methodist preachers above that of Mr. Wesley, so far as the government of the Societies in this country was concerned. In this he stood in opposition to Mr. Wesley. And there is scarcely a doubt that his doing so led to the convocation known as the Christmas Conference. Thomas Ware, who as a narrator of events which occurred at that time is in high repute, says that Asbury said to Coke, "Doctor, we will call the preachers together, and the voice of the preachers shall be to me the voice of God. A Conference was accordingly agreed upon."*

Errors sometimes become not only venerable but venerated. Such seems to be the opinion which has so long been cherished by the greater part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, namely, that the Christmas Conference of 1784 was held in accordance with the design of Mr. Wesley, and the supposed provision made by him for organizing an independent Church. Mr. Wesley could hardly have designed that a Conference should be convened for such a purpose. He apparently meant that Coke and Asbury, as his proxies, should hold Conferences, as Rankin and Asbury had done for years, and that they should station and ordain the preachers; but it is doubtful if he meant that the Conferences should legislate or even vote upon any question of ecclesiastical polity whatsoever. In the light of the facts, and of Wesley's known practice in not allowing questions to be determined in Conference by vote, the opinion that he directed Coke to call the preachers together in a General Conference to debate and determine so grave a question as that of organizing an independent Church is highly questionable. Wesley probably no more intended that the preachers should do *that* than that they should vote themselves prelates or papists.

It is a well-established fact that Mr. Wesley never allowed his preachers to vote in Conference. In 1785, soon after the Christmas Conference, he held a Conference in London of which he says: "About seventy preachers were present whom I had invited by name. One consequence of this was, we had no contention or altercation at all." He knew his men and called together only such as he chose to confer with, and thus unanimity prevailed in his councils. To convene all the American preachers in order that they might formally organize the Methodist

* "Methodist Quarterly Review," vol. xiv, p. 97.

Episcopal Church, legislate for it, and elect bishops, could scarcely have been the project of the founder of Methodism. He meant, as his appointment of Dr. Coke shows, to assert and maintain his own authority and supremacy in America as he had done in England from the beginning of the Methodist movement. That supremacy Mr. Asbury refused to acknowledge, and therefore we suspect the Conference was held.

It is likely that the work of the Christmas Conference would not have escaped the disapproval of Mr. Wesley but for the fact that it adopted the minute which he required the American preachers to accept, and which he probably meant should be incorporated into the minutes of the District Conferences,* namely, that "During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the Gospel, ready in matters belonging to Church government to obey his commands." As long as the American Methodists were loyally subject to him as their earthly head, it was of little account to Mr. Wesley that they adopted the title Methodist Episcopal Church by the vote of a General Conference. They did not thereby absolve the body from his control, and therefore he probably looked upon the procedure as of little consequence.

One thing, however, he attempted, namely, to prohibit the preachers in Conference from voting. Mr. Snethen says: "Mr. Wesley blamed his General Superintendents for allowing the American preachers to vote. Mr. Asbury was the first to offend, and so procured his own election." Wesley's authority would be more secure if no measure was subjected to a vote. Hence Thomas Ware says:

As we had pledged ourselves to obey, he instructed the doctor, according to his own usage, to put as few questions to vote as possible, saying, "If you and Brother Asbury and Brother Whatcoat are agreed, it is enough."†

Asbury, who had shrewdly taken the precaution to have a band of about a dozen of his preachers with him when he met Coke, apparently secured a General Conference. The Conference, when it had assembled, declared its prerogatives. Opposition was shown in the Conference to the minute which Coke in Wes-

* A Conference then, as now, included the work and the preachers of a given territory or district, and so was called a District Conference.

† "Life of Ware," p. 130.

ley's name insisted should be accepted, namely, the minute declaring submission to Mr. Wesley's commands. Asbury maintained silence in the Conference respecting it. He says: "I was mute and modest when it passed." Having first of all declared their readiness to obey Mr. Wesley in all matters of Church government, the Conference further declared that "we will form ourselves into an Episcopal Church." It also established an elective Superintendency or Episcopacy, defined its powers, and elected Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury incumbents of the office. As no record of this *election* appeared in the printed Minutes of the Conference the fact of Asbury's election was denied by Mr. O'Kelly in both his "Apology" and his "Vindication." Mr. Snethen, in his "Answer" to O'Kelly's "Vindication," published the following documentary testimony to that fact:

We whose names are undersigned do testify that we were members of the Conference held in Baltimore in the year of our Lord 1784, and that the method of deciding all questions was by voting, and that Mr. Asbury was elected as is asserted in the "Reply," page 9, by a unanimous vote.

EDWARD DROMGOOLE, IRA ELLIS, •
WILLIAM WATTERS, LE ROY COLE.
JOHN HAGERTY,

In a recent work,* in which I examined some unfamiliar authorities bearing upon the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, I quoted Mr. Wesley's declaration that he did not separate the American Methodists from the English Church. Professor Tigert, of Vanderbilt University, in reviewing a portion of the book in an article in the "Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South" (July, 1885), makes a very unwarranted statement, as follows:

On one other point Dr. Atkinson wholly misapprehends the situation. He argues that Mr. Wesley did not intend the American Methodists to be independent of the Church of England. This is puerile. If it were not for the discourtesy implied in it, idiotic would be the best descriptive epithet.

A controversialist gives evidence of being embarrassed when he attempts to vanquish an adversary by calling him hard names rather than by facts or reason. That an intelligent writer, with my volume in his hand, should make such a statement as the

* See the writer's "Centennial History of American Methodism."

above seems almost incredible. I did not "argue" the matter in question at all; I simply quoted Mr. Wesley's own words:

Judging this to be a case of real necessity, I took a step which, for peace and quietness, I had refrained from taking for many years. I exercised that power which I am fully persuaded the great Shepherd and Bishop of the Church has given me: I appointed three of our laborers to go and help them [that is, the Methodists in America], by not only preaching the word of God, but likewise by administering the sacraments in all that vast land. These are the steps which, not of choice, but necessity, I have slowly and deliberately taken. If any one is pleased to call this separating from the Church [of England] he may. But the law of England does not call it so. After Dr. Coke's return from America many of our friends begged I would consider the case of Scotland, where we had been laboring for many years, and had seen so little fruit of our labors. Multitudes, indeed, have set out well, but they were soon turned out of the way; chiefly by their ministers either disputing against the truth, or refusing to admit them to the Lord's Supper, yea, or to baptize their children, unless they would promise to have no fellowship with the Methodists. Many who did so, soon lost all they had gained, and became more the children of hell than before. To prevent this, I at length consented to take the same step with regard to Scotland which I had done with regard to America. But this is not a separation from the Church at all. Whatever then is done, either in America or Scotland, is no separation from the Church of England. I have no thought of this: I have many objections against it.*

John Wesley was not surpassed by any man in his day in the ability to say clearly the thing he had to say. He says with the utmost clearness and positiveness in 1785 that what he did in 1784 for the Methodists in America was "no separation from the Church of England," and furthermore, that he had "no thought" of such a "separation," and further still, that he had "many objections against it." Now Professor Tigert proceeds, though with some hesitancy, which he attributes to courtesy, to pronounce this position of Mr. Wesley quoted before his eyes as "idiotic." All this Professor Tigert affirms is "puerile," or as he would prefer, but for the discourtesy, to say, "idiotic." Well, if so, the puerility and idiocy are Mr. Wesley's. The professor's caustic epithets, however, will scarcely demolish the grave and emphatic declarations of John Wesley.

* This statement appeared in the Wesleyan Minutes, is dated August, 1785, and is found in Wesley's Works, vii, pp. 314, 315. The italics in the quotation are mine.

Mr. Wesley declares, that in sending Coke to this country as his ordained Superintendent, he had no intention of separating the American Methodists from the Church of England. This is clearly expressed in his words written in 1785: "Whatever is done [by Mr. Wesley] in America is no separation from the Church of England."

It is said, however, that Mr. Wesley drew up a plan of Church government for the American Methodists when he commissioned Coke as his ambassador. No "plan" has ever been found in Wesley's writings or elsewhere save the "Circular Letter." All that he had to say he seems to have said in that document, and in it he says not a word about any "plan" of Church organization which he had conceived. It is alleged, furthermore, that he indicated the design of a separate Church organization by preparing the Articles of Religion and the Liturgy for the use of the Societies in the United States. His own words in the "Circular Letter," which for some reason have been eliminated from the document as now extant, show what he meant in sending over the liturgy. Wesley says (I quote from the Circular Letter the passage which has been eliminated):

I have prepared a Liturgy little differing from that of the Church of England (I think the best constituted National Church in the world), which I advise all the traveling preachers to use on the Lord's day in all the congregations, reading the litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days. I also advise the elders to administer the supper of the Lord on every Lord's day.*

Now for the Sunday service, for prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays, and for the sacramental occasions, he prepared the Liturgy, which also included forms for the ordinations at which Dr. Coke was to preside—the ordination, that is to say, of a superintendent, elders, and deacons.

With respect to the Articles of Religion, it may be said that it was apparent to Mr. Wesley that the rising Methodism of the New World required some convenient statement of doctrine, not only for the use of the members themselves, but also that others, and especially inquirers, might know what theological opinions were involved in the new religious movement. The war, which had stopped the intercourse between Wesley

* See *Life of Wesley by Coke and Moore*, pp. 460, 461. London, 1792.

and his American children, was over. When it began they numbered only about three thousand, with but nineteen preachers; now they were an aggressive and growing body having about fifteen thousand members and above eighty preachers. In communicating with them after so long an interval, during which they had enjoyed such growth, Wesley deemed it wise to furnish them, what they so manifestly needed, an outline of Christian doctrine. This, together with the liturgy, the hymn book, and the ordinations, constituted all that Wesley did or proposed to do respecting the American Methodists, if we may judge from his own declarations in the case.

It may, however, be further alleged that Dr. Coke, in his sermon at the ordination of Asbury as Superintendent, asserted that "after long deliberation he (Wesley) saw it his duty to form his Society in America into an independent Church."

The language of Coke must be taken, then, as he gives it, namely, that Wesley "saw it *his* duty to form an independent Church." But Wesley did not form the Methodist Episcopal Church. That was done by the body of preachers in Conference assembled at Baltimore in 1784. The wish to be absolutely fair compels me to give the following passage from the Rev. Nicholas Snethen's "Answer" to O'Kelly's "Vindication," which probably very few now living have ever seen. This passage reads: "The American preachers in 1784, by Mr. Wesley's advice and consent, agreed by a majority of votes to form themselves into a separate body to be called the Methodist Episcopal Church in America." The fact that Snethen's "Answer" was read in manuscript by Asbury gives great weight to its statements. We would say in reference to this, however, that while there is no doubt that Asbury and the preachers of the Christmas Conference believed that it was in harmony with "the advice and consent of Mr. Wesley" that they should maintain a certain Episcopal Church order, there is not a word of Wesley's to show that the "advice and consent" of which Mr. Snethen speaks was ever definitely expressed by him. It seems rather to have been *inferred* by the preachers at Baltimore from what he did and said.

The history of the origin of the Christmas Conference seems to show that Wesley did not appoint it or propose it, but that Asbury's refusal to accept Wesley's appointment, and to submit

as Wesley required to his personal authority in all things relating to the government of the American Societies, except the preachers agreed to the same, caused that Conference to be convened. All the independent Church which Wesley proposed apparently was, to maintain the same firm grasp upon the Methodism of the United States now that they had achieved political independence which he held while they were a part of the British Empire; and in doing so to furnish them by his own hand, through the medium of Coke, ordination, an outline of doctrine, a liturgy, a hymn book, and a "joint" instead of a single superintendency. In so far as that went, indeed, Wesley formed "his Society into an independent Church," though with no thought, as he declares, of separation from the Church of England, and certainly with no thought of separating "his Society" from his personal and unquestioned control.

After Dr. Coke made the assertion at Asbury's ordination concerning Mr. Wesley having seen it to be "his duty to form his Society into an independent Church," Wesley, who doubtless read Coke's statement in the printed sermon, wrote his declaration which we have quoted already, namely, "Whatever is done in America, *is no separation from the Church of England*. I have no thought of this: I have many objections against it." Thus did Wesley contradict Coke's declaration respecting "an independent Church" several months after Coke uttered it.

Dr. Coke was privileged to enjoy a number of personal interviews with his chief after the Christmas Conference. With the clearer light which those interviews gave him of the views and intentions of Mr. Wesley respecting the "independent Church," Coke, in 1791, said:

I am not sure but that I went further in the separation of our Church in America than Mr. Wesley, from whom I received my commission, did intend. He did, indeed, solemnly invest me, so far as he had a right so to do, with episcopal authority, but *did not intend*, I think, *that our entire separation should take place*. This I am certain of, that he is now sorry for the separation.*

The most favorable interpretation which can be given of this case is, that Dr. Coke was not clear in his understanding of

* Dr. Coke's letter to Bishop White, dated April 24, 1791.

Wesley's views as to "an independent Church," when, with Asbury, he presided at the Christmas Conference.

Then, furthermore, what did the "independent Church" which originated at the Christmas Conference amount to in Coke's estimate? Evidently but little more than "a rope of sand." In a letter written by Dr. Coke in 1808 to one of the foremost leaders of the Methodist Episcopal Church at that time, he refers to the letter he wrote to Bishop White concerning the union of the Methodist Episcopal Church with the Protestant Episcopal Church, and says:

As to my letter to Bishop White, most of my brethren who are now members of the General Conference were then children or lads. We had no regular General Conferences. We had had only one.* There were only district meetings.† The little connection was in danger of becoming a mere rope of sand, if the Lord had been pleased to take away Bishop Asbury. As to the repetition of the imposition of hands, I considered it then, as I do now, as a perfectly unessential point. I acted for the best; but with no intention of taking any actual step but by the consent of a General Conference.‡

At the time Coke wrote the letter to Bishop White to which he refers in the above excerpt, Wesley's authority had been rejected for about four years by the new Church. Asbury administered its affairs, as he had done during the Revolution, when Wesley had little or no communication with the American Methodists. Coke had but little to do with the affairs of the Church, and was not even consulted in reference to stationing the preachers. The Christmas Conference had adjourned without making any provision for future legislation. No General Conference, or other method of ascertaining and giving authoritative expression to the will of the Church on questions of government that might arise in the course of its progress, seems to have been considered. Mr. Wesley was the acknowledged ruler and lawgiver of American Methodism when the Christmas Conference dissolved; and that being the case, it is

* That one was the Christmas Conference. This hitherto unpublished word of Coke settles the query which Stevens in his "History" has discussed at length, whether there was a General Conference between 1784 and 1792.

† The District Conferences Coke here calls "district meetings."

‡ Manuscript letter of Dr. Coke, dated March 1, 1808. This, I presume, is the first time that any part of this letter has been printed.

probable that no arrangement looking to future legislation was deemed necessary. When, however, the preachers in Conference in 1787 determined to be no longer subject to the authority of Wesley, the Methodist Episcopal Church was found to be but a frail ecclesiastical fabric. The government centered chiefly in Asbury; and, should the young Church be subjected to the strain of his removal, Coke thought it would be liable to crumble into fragments like "a mere rope of sand." So thinking, he wrote to Bishop White, with a view to its union with the Protestant Episcopal Church. Even the Episcopal ordination of the new Church did not, in Coke's view, possess such significance as to prevent it from being readily surrendered for the sake of the union he proposed; and as late as 1808, he declares that he still considered it "a perfectly unessential point." Plainly, then, in Dr. Coke's opinion, not very much was achieved in 1784 in the matter of forming "an independent Church." And, as a matter of fact, it must be acknowledged that there was about nothing of Church adjustment in the Methodism of America after the Christmas Conference dissolved which it did not possess before the Conference was convened, except what Wesley himself gave it in his ordinations, liturgy, psalmody, and the abridgment of the Thirty-nine Articles as its theological symbols, together with the assumption by the Conference of a title, and the declaration for an elective superintendency. Had Asbury accepted Coke, and also Wesley's appointment of himself as Superintendent, without question, as he had previously accepted from Wesley the office of Assistant, and the General Conference had not therefore been called, the result, with the exception of title and election, would have been about what it actually was. The liturgy and psalmody would have been the same; the ordained ministry and Articles of Faith would have been the same; and the absolute submission to Mr. Wesley's commands in all matters of government would have been the same. The work of the Methodist Episcopal Church organization was yet to be achieved, with the exception of a bare and fragile frame-work, when the preachers of the historic Conference of 1784 departed from Baltimore. In a future article we propose to review the steps by which a more perfect organization was accomplished.

ART. IV.—BISHOP MARTENSEN.

THE Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini opens with the statement that "all men, of whatever rank, who have done any thing virtuous or virtuous-like, should, providing they be conscious of really good intentions, write down their lives; nevertheless, they should not undertake this worthy enterprise until they have reached the age of forty." Of the many who have since thought it worth while to give the world a picture of their lives, few have perhaps had a better right to do so, and few have better fulfilled the conditions laid down by the shrewd Italian, than the late Bishop Martensen, theologian, preacher, and ecclesiastical organizer. His life, though not so stirring as that of the statesman or the soldier, was greater than that of either, and of more abiding interest, for it was the life of one of the deepest and purest Christian thinkers of our age. His Autobiography—written in his old age, and when, as he himself pathetically tells us, "he spoke with his foot on the very brink of the grave"—will therefore be regarded by many as not the least welcome and valuable of the various thought-legacies which he has left us. It has been to many in his own land and elsewhere not only a guide through the difficulties which beset the pathway of the inquiring spirit, but a help to larger and more hopeful views of life and its possibilities.

Hans Lassen Martensen was born at Flensburg, in South Jutland, on the 19th of April, 1808. His father, like most of the peasant class of the north, was a sailor until he was, during that unsettled time, made a prisoner by the English, when his health gave way, and he had to try a new mode of life as a writer of text-books on Navigation. With this view he removed to Copenhagen, where his writings, which supplied a gap in that kind of literature, brought him some reputation, as well as a scant livelihood. His mother, Anna Maria Truelssen, was the daughter of a second-hand book-seller. Hers was a quiet, contemplative spirit, possessing at all times a contented joy in life, combined with a hopeful outlook into the future. It was she who first taught young Hans to pray; and it was from her, as well as from his father, he early learned to be-

lieve in the government and guidance of God in good as well as evil days.

His home-life, if somewhat lonely, was happy and peaceful. "Elia," in one of his exquisite Essays, says: "Brother or sister I never had any—to know them. A sister, I think that should have been Elizabeth, died in both our infancies. What a comfort, or what a care, may I not have missed in her!" Martensen had a brother, but he died in early childhood; and he deeply regrets, more than once, in his Autobiography, that he never had a sister. "My natural disposition," he tells us, "led me to a quiet, inner life; and while I lived in my inner world, and gave myself undisturbedly to it, the outer world was as indifferent to me as could well be. Had I a sister, this might have been otherwise. All my life long I have felt it as a want that I had no sister." But he tried to make up for the lack in those early years by loving his mother, and his books, and the violin—the use of which he learned from his father—and in whose company he spent many a pleasant hour.

Young Martensen was not very fortunate in his first school at Flensburg. A cold atmosphere of rationalism pervaded it, and the subjects taught, especially the scraps of natural science, were exceedingly distasteful. At Copenhagen matters were slightly better, though even yet classical studies, with the exception of the fables of Phædrus, did not greatly interest him. He did not inherit his father's talent for mathematics; and, as a mental discipline, he neither then nor afterward derived much help from studies of that kind. At this stage his own national literature, and particularly the poems of Oehlenschläger, had the most interest for him.

In 1822 his father died, and left his mother "not only in deep sorrow, but in straitened circumstances." In the following year he was enrolled, through the assistance of friends, in the chief or Metropolitan School in Copenhagen. Here a new world disclosed itself, and he reveled in its treasures. Herodotus, Homer, Ovid, and Cicero filled him with youthful wonderment and delight. He also, at the same period, made the acquaintance of Shakespeare (through Foersom's translation), Schiller, Goethe, Tieck, Novalis, and, above all, he studied anew his old friend Oehlenschläger, of whom he says, "that in richness and fullness of fancy, and in beauty and freshness of

language, he is excelled by none of the world's greatest poets." It was then, too, he fell in with Steffen's "False Theology and True Faith." Though he did not fully understand this work, it made a deep impression on him. From it he received the idea that all that has significance in the sphere of being—nature and spirit; nature and history; poetry, art, and philosophy—forms but one temple of the spirit, in which Christianity is the all-dominating and all-enlightening center.

In this state, with many vistas of knowledge opening before him, and many beautiful ideals of truth dawning upon his spirit, he entered the University in 1827, at the age of nineteen.

At first he studied, with diligence and distinction, philology and philosophy; but his inclinations, as well as the spirit of the age, soon led him to direct his attention to theology. Through-out all Protestant Christendom new ideas were spreading, and the coarse rationalism which had hitherto oppressed the spirits of men like a horrible nightmare was fast beginning to pass away before a more enlightened and scientific presentation of the Christian faith. Schelling, Hegel, and Schleiermacher were then in the ascendant, and their influence gave a fresh impulse to religious life and thought. It was a time of revolution and reconstruction—for theology, perhaps the most momentous through which it has ever passed—and an ardent soul like Martensen could not be insensible to it. In his own land, Grundtvig and Mynster, the representatives of liberal orthodoxy, were the leaders of the opposition against the old rationalistic system; and it was through them he was first led to take a deep and speculative interest in the new movement. But still he did not find in either the satisfaction and guidance he sought. Grundtvig was a great historic and prophetic character, throwing out large thoughts about the world and Christianity, but he was no theologian. He had no solution of the ground problem—the union of faith and knowledge; and though the young scholar learned much from him, possibly more than he knew, he could not follow him as a guide. There was a fascination in the man and his views; but, for as much as he had spoken and written, there was no word which had brought peace and assurance to his spirit.

Of Mynster, too, he could say the same thing. This beautiful soul, alike distinguished as a preacher and a theologian, made

a deep impression upon him; still, he could not say he had reached ground on which he could take his stand, and from which his further development might proceed. His soul, like Noah's dove, saw no place amid the wastes around where it could find rest. There was a kind of dualism in his being; for his religious interests kept pace with his speculative inquiries, and he felt he could only acquiesce in that which brought satisfaction to both. What he sought was the adjustment of the problems of faith and of knowledge, and that he had, as yet, failed to find.

The first who put him on the right track was Sibbern, Professor of Moral Philosophy in his own University. This acute thinker endeavored to combine religion and speculation, and in doing so he arrived at a point at once higher than that attained by either the orthodox or rationalistic methods. In his system Christianity was accepted not simply on the authority of Scripture, or of the Church, or because it speaks to our hearts and consciences, but because we immediately know it to be true in the light and certainty of its own objective reality. He further regarded it as the mightiest power on earth—and that in the sphere of practical life as well as in the world of thought. As such, he maintained, it can answer the deepest questions of the thinking spirit, it can supply the needs and yearnings of the human heart, and it can furnish the mind with an all-embracing conception of the world.

It was while these views of Sibbern were silently growing in the soul of Martensen—like the seed which the man in the parable cast into the ground, and which grew up he knew not how—that he came under the spell of the two greatest thinkers of modern times—Schleiermacher and Hegel.

The "Christian Dogmatics" of the former, which marks an era in theological literature, he found, as most young students at first find, to be very difficult reading. He failed to understand its separation of theology from philosophy; he missed its idea of God; and as to its doctrine of last things, he comprehended almost nothing; yet he assures us he was deeply fascinated by its central thought of sin and redemption, and by its marvelous structural conception, which makes it, next to Calvin's "Institutes," the greatest masterpiece of theological thought. While Martensen was engaged in studying this epochal work, Schleier-

macher paid a visit to Copenhagen, and he had the good fortune to make his acquaintance. "He was," he informs us, "a very little man—or, as Sibbern put it, 'a little spare man'—somewhat deformed, with white hair over his high and beautiful forehead (for he was then sixty-five years of age), and with deep, piercing eyes which, while he spoke, glanced from beneath upward, and overtopped the person with whom he conversed; yet the longer he spoke the more you became impressed you were standing in the presence of a great personality." He took kindly to Martensen, and entered freely into his difficulties. When he understood he was studying his *Christlicher Glaube*, he said, in his own quiet, good-humored way, "*Meine Dogmatik ist nicht leicht!*" (My "Dogmatics" is not the lightest kind of literature.) The chief discussions between the two were based on various points treated in this work. One day Martensen asked him whether he believed a philosophical knowledge of the being of God—of his inner, eternal life-processes—were possible. He answered that he regarded such an effort of the intellect to apprehend the Infinite as a mere illusion and deception. We cannot think otherwise than by contrasts or opposites; but God, according to him, was the absolute, the eternal Ground of our thought, the Being of all beings (*Wesen aller Wesen*), raised above all contrasts or opposites; and to think of him as a personality, or, with Spinoza, as a *natura naturans*, is to think of him by contrast, or in a finite, anthropomorphic, or creaturely fashion. In this view Martensen could not acquiesce. He preferred to follow Hegel, Schelling, Böhme, and those kindred spirits who maintained that God must be thought of antithetically. Without distinction or contrast, he felt that God could not be for him the living, self-revealing Triune God. Hence Schleiermacher, following out his own speculations to their true issues, was a one-sided Unitarian (a Sabellian).

Martensen owed much to this original and strangely mixed genius. What his influence on him might have been, had not the friendship of respect and love which had just been formed between the two been separated by death, it is difficult to say. As it was, in the building up of his character and in the unfolding of his thoughts, the translator of Plato, with his richly endowed Socratic individuality, with his mysticism, his piety,

and philosophy, must be taken into account as not the least important factor.

Hegel, whom he next studied, presented quite a contrast to Schleiermacher. He discarded altogether feeling and the pious disposition, which the other made so much of, and made thought—not simply subjective thought, but divine thought, penetrating the whole universe, and revealing itself in it—the basis of his entire system. In keeping with this conception, he was hopeful that theology, which had become attenuated, shriveled, and barren, might attain new life and honor by being reproduced in such a living and real form as would render it capable of being discerned in its true nature and according to the necessity of the indwelling idea.

While seeking to understand the "secret of Hegel," the idea Martensen at this time formed of his view of the world was, that in which Christ was represented as "the center of being, at the background of the Trinity; and the universe as a system of concentric circles, all pointing to the inner circle in which Christ lives, and all finding in him their explanation and meaning." Still, he is rather inclined to question whether this conception is borne out by his writings, and speaks somewhat hesitatingly of other voices which were raised in condemnation of them as tending directly to sink all individual and personal being into a kind of logical pantheism. But, however this might be, the more he studied this profoundest of modern philosophers the more he accepted his system, and became inclosed in it as in a magical net. It had a special fascination for him, because it proceeded from the unity of thought and being, and because it was destructive of Kant's view of knowledge (that "we can only know a thing as it is for us, and not as it is in itself")—a view he regarded with the strongest antipathy. He felt, with Baader and others, that the dialectic of Hegel had "kindled a fire through which all that shall prove itself valid in science must pass." And, though he ultimately broke with his autonomistic and pantheistic principles, this feeling never left him. To the last he loved Hegelianism, and was a worthy representative of its so-called right wing.

Thus he passed his student days in gleaning knowledge from every field in which he could find it. In 1832, at the close of

his university course, he held the first place, and obtained the gold medal for distinction in theology. Two years later he won a traveling scholarship, which entitled him to study abroad at the expense of the State. This was an honor he greatly coveted, and he did ample credit to it. During the two years he held it he studied in succession at Berlin, Heidelberg, Munich, Vienna, and Paris. At these various seats of learning theology and philosophy chiefly occupied his attention. He read the Church Fathers, especially Athanasius; he made a particular study of the mystics of all ages, with the intention of writing a work on that subject; and, above all, he sought to get a clear understanding of the leading philosophic systems of his day.

It was a time of intense mental activity, and, at one part of it at least, it was a time of utter skepticism. While at Berlin, a bodily illness brought on a state of hypochondria, which, assuming a subtle, psychical character, shook to its base the entire fabric of his thought. What was before for him true and certain as the light was now doubtful and dark as night. But, what was even worse still, his disease filled him with a kind of surfeit of life, in which "every thing was equally indifferent; and all reality, as well in the world of things as of thought, had resolved itself into empty shadows." It was not that he doubted this or that particular truth, such as the doctrine of immortality—the bone of contention between the right and the left wing of Hegelianism; he doubted the whole system of truth. With him the problem to be solved was one which turned upon God, and the idea of God. "Who," he asked his own soul, "is the true God? Is it the living God, the God of revelation? or is it Pantheism, the god of heathenism?"

In seeking to answer these questions he felt there was much in Pantheism which was true as it was beautiful, but it failed to meet his wants. He could not be satisfied with a merely impersonal God; and Pantheism—whether it be thought of as Nature, the logical idea, the logical process, or the logical spirit—could give him no other. And what could such a deity as that care for him? or what interest could he, in his turn, have in a being who only stood related to him as the necessity of his thought and life, in good as in evil? What he yearned for was a God who was really and personally present in his

own world, whose fullness streamed through every sphere of earthly existence, and in whom we all "live, and move, and have our being." But again, in his search for this God who is touched with the weal and woe of humanity, he was met with the fresh difficulty: "How can he be all, and at the same time a real existence, an individual?"

He was thus in a state of complete intellectual bewilderment, and he knew not rightly what to think or to do. Pantheism had its insuperable difficulties, so had Theism; and as for Deism, with what Carlyle calls its "absentee God," he left it out of account altogether. At last he concluded there remained nothing for him, now he had lost faith in all higher ideals of personality, but to render homage to this world, its kingdoms and its glory.

Strange to say, it was while this sad alternative was thrust upon him that the true light began to dawn on his spirit. Hitherto he had been living in a region of pure speculation, in which he expected to attain to a knowledge of God by the sheer force of his own intellect. But, now that he came down to the plane of life, with its facts and realities, he found it was necessary not so much to speculate about the Divine Being, as to learn to *live*. This led him to the truth, which came to him like a revelation, "that our true problem is not, as Hegel thought, a problem of knowledge, but a problem of existence, whose solution is to be sought for in life." Starting from this point, it became ever clearer to him that if God is to be known at all, it cannot be as an impersonal object, like Nature, but as a living and personal God, manifesting himself in human history. As such we can only know him when we are brought into personal contact with him. The element of faith is thus introduced; and, as a consequence, there is true and religious knowledge. Without this, all we can know of God is the mere deceptive play of our own imaginations.

Here, at last, Martensen found a resting-place for his wearied spirit. Henceforth, instead of speculating about faith and knowledge, he sought to bring them into their right place in his life. He was much stronger in health; his hypochondria was passing away; and he was about to leave Berlin, of which he was getting tired, for Heidelberg, with its new scenes and fresh studies. Besides, the time of spring was at hand;

and all combined had awakened strong faith in him—faith in God, and faith in life and its triumphant *on-go*.

But full of mental activity as this period was, it had a special significance for Martensen, as it brought him into friendly relations with men whose fame had spread over continents, and some of whose writings he had learned to know in his own land. The chief of these were Daub and Strauss, Baader and Schelling.

Daub, "the father of speculative theology," then an old but vigorous man, made a pleasant impression upon him. Yet, the more he studied his writings, the more he was convinced that, however much his faith was with revelation, his thought was with Pantheism. In his search after the knowledge of God, he, instead of occupying a position of absolute dependence, took, as his starting-point, pure, impersonal thought; and consequently landed in that pantheistic bog where the ideas of the divine and the human are merged into each other.

It was when on his way to Tübingen he made the acquaintance of David Frederick Strauss. The "*Leben Jesu*" had appeared a short time before; but, although it created a sort of panic in Christendom, it had no unsettling effect on Martensen. He speaks of it with undisguised contempt, as being founded on dogmatism and hypotheses which cannot bear the test. Still, perhaps, the man himself might be better worth the knowing than the book which made his name immortal; and in this he was not altogether mistaken. "While his outward appearance," he says, "was not what might be called distinguished, still he made an agreeable impression, because his manner bore the stamp of culture, refinement, and, strange as it may seem, of modesty." The two spoke about many things; but naturally the conversation was directed to Hegel, "whose chief merit," Strauss declared, "consisted in the fact that he destroyed the dream of the other world, and made the present all which one need care about, so that what is not here exists nowhere." On Martensen's referring to the doctrine of immortality, he answered, "I had scarcely finished reading the '*Phenomenology of the Spirit*' (Hegel's most fertile work) when this belief fell away from me like a withered leaf." So he went on, talking in a calm, direct manner, and answering objections with the greatest courtesies. Only

once, in the course of the interview, did he use the language of the scoffer, when he characterized the ascension of Christ as a kind of aëronautics or balloonry (*eine Lustschiffahrt*).

For Martensen the only significance this Ishmaelite in theology had was his unwillingness to receive half-measures, and his presentation to Christendom of a distinct alternative, an *either—or*. As for his writings, he regarded them as worthless—"the fallen and withered leaves of a decaying and dead faith." But if he had no kind of sympathy with his views, he had pity in his heart for the sad, miserable, suffering man who found neither in domestic life nor in the world the happiness and peace he tried to attain. And, as life had in it no bright spot, so the last act of all was unrelieved by any ray of sunshine or of hope. "On his death-bed," we are told, "he turned over the leaves of Plato's *Phædo* (on immortality); but, laying aside the book, he said, 'This is an old-fashioned stand-point' (*Das ist ein veralteter Standpunkt*). And so he left this world with its many old-fashioned stand-points."

Very different from Daub and Strauss were the other two whom we have mentioned as crossing his path at this time.

Franz Baader, the greatest speculative theologian modern Catholicism has produced, was Professor of Philosophy and Theology in the University of Munich; and it was there Martensen met him, and came under the spell of his rare theosophic mind. This good man was wholly devoid of method; yet there were in him the elements of an all-comprehensive system; and whatever subject he treated, whether it had to do with the heavenly mysteries of love and grace, or the infernal ones of sin and hate, he always spoke from the center, and with the full force of conviction. His theme, *con amore*, was the revelation of God in Christ. But another thought, which he was never tired of repeating, was, that philosophy must, in order to be true, be religious philosophy. In philosophizing about religion, he maintained it is not enough to stand on the outside of it, and make it the object of thought; it is only he who is personally religious who can philosophize about it; all others can only speak about it in the same way as the blind do about color.

Martensen perhaps derived more true spiritual benefit from this too little-known thinker than from any other of his

teachers. Echoes of his views are to be found in all his writings, and especially in his "Dogmatics," and his not less remarkable "Jacob Böhme."

It was also while studying at Munich he got to know Schelling, who was lecturer at the University. He was greatly pleased with his mythical views; but he could not bear his philosophy, because it presumed to measure itself with Christianity, and sought to explain its meaning in the same way as it explained nature, or mythology, or any other great world-phenomenon. In this connection he mentions, and seemingly with approval, Baader's opinion regarding him: "If he was a Christian, he lived with his unchristian philosophy very much as a Christian lives with a heathen wife." Yet notwithstanding his objective system of truth, which owned no authority, and by means of whose underived light he hoped to see into all things, Martensen predicts a great future for this philosopher: "When the materialistic cloud now hanging over the intellectual horizon shall disappear, and allow men once more to occupy themselves with the highest problems of thought and being, he shall then take his rightful place as a guide and a leader with Plato and Aristotle, whose true kinsfellow he is."

In this way Martensen passed his time abroad. Wherever he went he gathered all the light he could on the problems of the divine revelation and the human consciousness. He was a kind of modern Peripatetic, disputing not only in the class-room, but on the street and in the highway, with every one whom he thought could help him.

But, though mention has only been made of these severer studies and pursuits, it is by no means to be supposed he did nothing but engage in them. Indeed, it was quite otherwise. He was fond of poetry, music, and painting; and many of his happiest hours were spent in the company of these sister Muses. He was also a not infrequent visitor at the opera and the theater. These more sublunary recreations not only helped to unbend the mind after the strain to which it was put during the day, but brought before him some phases of foreign life and character which would otherwise have escaped him.

This sojourn abroad constituted the most important era in his mental training. His studies, and interviews with the

great thinkers of his age, gave a new significance to his faith and thought. What of truth there was in them stood out all the clearer after the purgatory of doubt and conflict through which they had passed; and what of real practical worth was in them was indelibly registered on the roll of his experience. He defined his own stand-point at this time in the old scholastic formula, *credo ut intelligam*. With him faith was the *prius*, the basis of all knowledge. This principle, which he first clearly seized and articulated under the teaching and guidance of Baader, is the key to his doctrine of knowledge, and has impressed itself on all his writings. Here, at length, he discovered a foundation on which he could build; and, having found it, doubt seems to have troubled him no more, for he at once set about constructing those monuments of learning and piety which have not only made his name famous, but have brought additional luster to that *scientia scientiarum* he knew and loved so well.

In the harvest of 1836, after two years' absence, he returned to his native land. His student days, the romance-time of young manhood, were now over; and before him lay the prose of life's daily routine. The following winter found him busy preparing his licentiate thesis. The subject he chose was his favorite one, the autonomy of self-consciousness (*De autonomia conscientiae sui humanæ*). This treatise, the plan of which he conceived while under the influence of Baader, is a most thorough and unsparing criticism of the subjective rationalism of Kant and Schleiermacher. It was published in Latin, and at once placed him in the first rank of theologians. In the course of a few years it was translated into Danish and German, and received a warm welcome at home and abroad.

In 1838 he was appointed lecturer on Moral Philosophy in the University, and two years later he was made Ordinary Professor. His lectures, colored by Hegelianism, and yet proceeding from the old basis of faith, created an immense impression. "A new movement manifested itself among the students of theology," and his class-room was thronged with crowds of eager hearers. In 1840 he got the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Keil, in consideration of his work on the "Autonomy of Consciousness"—a compliment which he so highly appreciated that he dedicated to the faculty of that

University his treatise on Mysticism, called "Meister Eckart," then just finished. Next year he published a selection from his lectures, entitled "Outlines of Moral Philosophy"—a work which gives ethical expression to the fundamental conceptions in his "Christian Dogmatics." Then there followed a course of prolonged study, embracing theology, ethics, symbolics, and theosophy.

He was appointed Court Preacher in 1845; and, though he still continued his lectures, he devoted himself with his usual care and thoroughness to the discharge of his duties. The question how he could best preach lay heavily on him, and he did what he could to answer it. He had discussions about it with every distinguished preacher he knew; and he made a special study of the sermons of Mynster, the greatest of Danish preachers; of Schleiermacher, who is unsurpassed for wealth of ethical ideas; and of Herder, the representative preacher of humanity. But the more he preached and studied, the more he believed, with Grundtvig and our own Martineau, that preaching is no art, but the highest product of the human spirit—higher than poetry or painting—because engaging the whole inner being. That he was himself an eloquent and illustrious preacher we are assured, not only by his published sermons, but by those persons who heard him preach.

In 1849, after being engaged on it for many years, Martensen published the most famous and best known of all his works—his "Christian Dogmatics." He intended this clear and beautifully written compendium of the doctrines of Christianity for the general reader as well as for the student and the theologian. So solicitous was he it should be serviceable in this respect that he submitted its pages, while he was correcting them for the press, to the poetess Frederika Bremer. Her enthusiastic appreciation of it led him to hope it might receive general attention and commendation. Nor was he deceived in this. From the first its popularity was unprecedented. It has been translated into almost every language in Europe. Even the Propaganda at Rome thought it necessary, in order to counteract its influence, to lecture against it. The only detracting voice, in any of the other Churches, whether Lutheran (to which he himself belonged) or Reformed, was that of Rasmus Neilsen, his own countryman and friend. In one of the bit-

terest of polemics he characterized it as a complete failure, misstating and misunderstanding the great problems of faith and knowledge with which it attempts to grapple. But these attacks are now forgotten; and, although thirty-six years have passed since its first appearance, it is still as far from being superseded as ever. For beauty of expression, for suggestiveness of thought, for deep insight into the very heart of truth, and for steady glow of faith and piety, it is, perhaps, unique in the whole range of theological literature.

Such a man, in every way so capable, could not long remain unrecognized. He was first offered the bishopric of Schleswig, which, for political as well as personal reasons, he refused. But on the primacy of Denmark becoming vacant through the death of Mynster, he was named for the high office, and did what he could to obtain it. The king's choice, however, was Clausen, the distinguished and brilliant representative of the rationalistic school; but as the greater part of the clergy and the influential laity were on Martensen's side, he was in the end elected.

It is too long and wearisome a story to enter into the details of his official labors, and his acts of ecclesiastical administration and reform, during the thirty years he was Bishop of Seeland; and, instead, we may content ourselves with a glimpse at the literary work he accomplished during this period.

Shortly after his installation as Bishop he wrote "Reminiscences" of his old friend Mynster. The book is not a biography, in the true sense of the term, but it is something better—a picture of his inner life-movement. In this little memoir the key-note of his ethical system is already indicated. It is, however, in his "Christian Ethics"—begun in 1871 and completed in 1878—that this system finds its perfect expression and development. This popular, yet singularly philosophical, work opens with the conception of the Good, or the kingdom of God, as the absolute aim of man's will and voluntary action. It shows how this ideal—only perfectly attained through the Incarnation—bears on life in its general, individual, and social aspects. In doing so it brings out, with much learning and skill, the relations existing between the human and the divine, the worldly and the spiritual—those contrasts in life which so often perplex and confound us.

There is nothing in the world's great market-place, nothing in commerce, science, art, or æsthetics, which lies essentially outside of Christianity. The opposite view it characterizes as Manichæan, and as affording a distorted representation of religion.

In contradistinction to this caricature of Christianity, which establishes a deep impassable gulf between man's religious life and his earthly sphere of action—between life in God and life in the world—true Christianity requires that all shall be summed up under Christ as Head (Eph. i, 10), which would be an impossibility if Christianity and the world were absolutely opposed in their nature.*

This attempted, and, so far, successful harmony between what is human and divine in the world and in life met a want experienced by thinking men, and had much to do with the favorable reception the work received wherever it became known. It has helped to place ethics on a proper and intelligible basis, and done much to raise it to the same distinct platform as dogmatics. The only other work of importance he wrote was "*Jacob Böhme*." In this more than in any of his writings he defines his hostile relation to the ruling philosophic systems of his time, especially those that deny the existence of the supernatural world, and acknowledge phenomena, without any inner and abiding reality, to be all. Here, too, he explains, at greater length and with more distinctness than in his "*Dogmatics*," such ideas as the relation between nature and spirit; the divine immanent life, and the glory of God and of the uncreated heavens. This suggestive and interesting book, though much read in Denmark and in Germany, is scarcely known on this side of the Channel. Its wealth of ideas and its dogmatic and apologetic value make it eminently worthy of being translated into English.† His last literary undertaking was his *Autobiography*.‡ As a psychological study it is as charming and full of interest as the life of Robertson of Brighton. It guides us through many systems of thought; it brings us into personal communication with those

* "*Christian Ethics*" (English translation), p. 25.

† It has now been translated, and is published in convenient form by Hodder Stoughton, London.

‡ *Af mit Levnet*: "From my Life," 3 vols., 1882-83, and translated into German in 1883-84 by Michelsen.

whose names stand the highest on the rôle of fame; and, above all, it leads us into the clear and bracing atmosphere of faith, where all is seen in the pure light of God, and his revelation in Jesus Christ.

Martensen was singularly happy in his domestic relations. Shortly after his return from his travels he married Matilda Helen Hess, daughter of a ship captain. After nine years of married life, this "pure soul," as he calls her, died, and left him with two children, a son and daughter. In 1848 he married again. His second wife was Virginie Henrietta Constance Bidoulac, who, as far as I can learn, still survives him. This marriage he regarded as the best and greatest blessing of his life. She was his good genius for thirty-six years, helping him with her counsels, and bringing sunshine with her wherever she went.

On Sunday, the 3d of February, 1884, this good man and distinguished theologian fell asleep in peace. All ranks, from the humble student to the king, mourned his loss as a true son of the Fatherland and of the Church; and they laid him with sorrow in his last resting-place, in his own cathedral.

The loss was more than national; every Christian land shared in it. Of the great religious teachers which this century has produced, Martensen will, for many, occupy the foremost place. If he is not so philosophical and far-reaching as Schleiermacher, he is a surer and more decided guide; if he is not such an historical genius as Dorner, he has more grace of style and faculty of method; and if, in some respects, he has not the speculative breadth of Rothe, his spiritual vision is clearer, and he moves through the domains of faith and knowledge with a firmer tread. Some may reproach him for his conservatism and mystical tendencies; but though he resisted, in theology and in politics, the advances of a spurious liberalism, his spirit was not bound by any narrow conventional limits; and though he loved to hold profound communion with God, and to think deeply on the mysteries of his divine self-manifestation, his thought was never one-sided, nor did it lead him into fanciful extravagances of any kind. He was a man of profoundly religious convictions, of strong will, large sympathies, and wide scholarship; and Christendom will not, I am sure, either readily or willingly let his name sink into oblivion.

As we write there are before us two portraits of Dr. Marten-

sen—the one taken in youth, the other in old age. The first bears a finely-chiseled, intellectual countenance, such as Melanchthon might have carried. The forehead is high and broad; the nose is slightly Grecian; the mouth is firm, and barely escapes belonging to the kind known as *os sublime*; the chin is small, though not wanting strength of character; the eyes, the most notable feature in the picture, are large and dreamy, full of thoughts and speculations and far-off visions of truth and beauty.* Altogether, it is a highly cultured, amiable, and pleasant face. The other representation is that of him in old age, and in his Bishop's robes. It is the same face, though the lines of thought are more deeply marked, and the hair is whitened, and the eyelids are half-closed, much in the same way as a weather-beaten sailor's are. Let, however, another, who had the honor of his acquaintance, and contributed an interesting and appreciative account of him to the "Expositor," continue the description, which in all points agrees with the portrait, with the exception of the ears—"those handsome volutes to the human capital," as they have been called—and which are here hidden by luxuriant masses of gray hair: "The man who rose to welcome us was not of imposing stature. I fear to seem irreverent if I confess that my attention was seized by his ears. They were very large, and set at right angles to his head, standing out from his pinched face like wings. The eyes, in fact, were the only feature which, to my mind, answered to the fame and public character of the Bishop; they were full, and deep gray in color, but habitually covered by heavy lids through which there shot a sort of mild, steely light. These lids rose in moments of excitement quite suddenly, and showed that the eyes were of unusual size and beauty. On such occasions the little, almost wizened face seemed to wake up, and become charged with intelligence. I am bound to say that, had I not known of his power in dialectics and his strong hand in administration, I should not have had the wit to guess them from his appearance."

* *Habet profundos oculos et mirabiles speculationes in capite suo*—said of Luther by Cajetan.

ART. V.—EVOLUTION IN RELIGION.

RELIGION did not spring into being, like Minerva, full-grown, but has come to be what it is by a slow and steady growth. In all vegetable growth the future plant is enfolded in the initial bud, and is developed by successive stages. So, too, religion has had its unfoldings, and in order properly to estimate any one of its phases we must consider it in connection with all the forms through which it has passed. We propose to apply this thought to the idea of Christian evolution in Methodism.

We are accustomed to speak of Methodism as a reformation. But the very term which we use to describe it is a borrowed one, and suggests the fact that there had been similar religious uprisings before, and that this was only one of a number of reformations. A glance at the history of religion will reveal the fact that these successive reformations were not isolated and independent upheavals in the religious world, but that they have followed a definite order in obedience to eternal law, and are only successive evolutions of Christianity.

A religion in order to be adapted to human needs and capacities must be as expansive as human nature. If individual men and society advance and develop, it must keep pace with them, or it will soon be outgrown and become obsolete. It is manifest, therefore, that the reformations in religion must synchronize with the revolutions in society.

The nature of mind is such that knowledge can be acquired only by successive increments. The temple of knowledge, whether of material or spiritual things, cannot be carved out of a single block, but must be built by adding stone to stone, placing one upon another. The education of an individual is the result of a continuous process, requiring many things to be first learned and afterward to be unlearned in order to the next advance. But as the education of a nation or race of men requires not simply the mental and moral development of the individuals composing it, but also the co-ordinating of all its various members, its progress will be slow in proportion to the complexity of society.

The world moves slowly, but it moves. It has taken six

thousand years (perhaps much more) for man to reach his present eminence in politics, in arts, in science, in literature, and in civilization; and the same law which made his progress so slow in those departments of knowledge has also fettered his feet in the march of religion, and determined the nineteenth century of the Christian era as the age when religious thought and feeling should blossom out in their present form.

Bagelhot, in his "Physics and Politics," regarding primitive man as a savage, has undertaken to show the stages in human government which were necessary in order to lift him from his brutal, lawless state to civilization and self-government. He tells us, that the first thing for the savage to learn is law and authority, and hence despotism was necessarily the first form of government. It took long ages under an iron scepter to crush the outlaw in savage man, and break the spirit of rebellion. To discipline human nature, to act from principle instead of impulse, to recognize and respect the rights of others, and to submit to the decision of authority, was the slow and painful schooling of centuries. When at last the savage was subdued, and tyranny had taught the lessons of law and authority with terrible effect, the next phase in the political development of the race was to unlearn despotism. Men must learn law and authority by bowing unquestioningly before them; but the next step to be taken is to inquire concerning their true source. This saps at once the foundation of the throne, uncrowns the tyrant, and reveals the people themselves as the fountain of all law and authority. You must first press men together into a mass, and rule them by a single will and hand, until each man's individuality is somewhat merged in the nation, so that all shall feel a community of interest. Then the mass must be partially disintegrated, and individual rights must be taught and demanded, and individual manhood asserted. It may have required centuries to so unfold human nature that it shall be capable of obeying and governing at the same time. But until this stage has been reached, self-government is impossible. The true conception of individual manhood and personal rights is a lesson which does not burst suddenly upon a people, but which must be learned a little at a time. After the divine right of kings to rule has been denied and the power of despotism broken, self-government

will pass through many stages in the process of evolution before it reaches pure democracy—that is, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Greece, Carthage, Rome, Venice, the Dutch Republic, and Switzerland, were all successive evolutions of the republican idea, and each was an advance upon all former attempts, yet each retained more or less of the old idea of privileged classes, and none of them realized the perfect idea of popular government. God works in the realm of mind as he does in that of matter. Constant forces, acting steadily, produce sudden catastrophies and overwhelming cataclysms. Dam up a stream and the waters will steadily rise without producing any appreciable result until sufficient power has been accumulated, and then in an instant the dam is swept away and the whole valley is flooded with the surging waters. The fires are burning and seething in the heart of the earth for ages, while the olive and vine grow green on the surface. Men dwell in fancied security in their cities with no indication of approaching calamity. But at last these pent-up fires become resistless, and suddenly nature shudders in an earthquake, toppling the cities to the ground, and the volcano bursts forth in floods of lava, spreading death and destruction on every hand. The forces were constant, but the results were sudden and violent.

So in the march of thought the idea of popular government has been advancing steadily and almost imperceptibly all through the ages; but ever and anon, as it gathered sufficient strength, it has burst forth in political revolutions, shaking the whole surface of society and sweeping away the obstacles that stood in its path. Thus through successive upheavals of society and revolutions of government has God lifted man from the plastic subject of an irresponsible monarch to be at once himself both subject and monarch.

The religious unfolding of the race has followed the same law, and is strikingly analogous to it in its progress. The law was our school-master to bring us to Christ, and a terribly severe master it has been. Whether primitive man was a savage, regarded from a political stand point, or not, is a question which we care not at present to discuss; but that the fall left him a savage morally is unquestionable. The first religious system granted to man regarded and treated him as parents do

their children, or as the savage is treated by his chief. It was a religious despotism in which authority and law flashed before the eye of the Israelite like the fiery swords of the cherubim at Eden before that of Adam. "Thou shalt" and "Thou shalt not" thundered in the ear of the people at every step in life. Human reason was not appealed to, conscience had scarcely any function to perform, and liberty was a thing unknown under the old covenant. Through outward forms and ceremonies man was taught reverence for divine authority and obedience to divine law. The rebel in man was thus to be subdued and the outlaw crushed. First of all, man must be made to bow before the authority of the great King and recognize God's will as the law of his life. The Jewish race was welded into a Church by being forced together in the vise of an iron law.

Judaism was a religion of external forms and ceremonies. It was a treadmill of outward duties, and under it man was a pupil or a machine. That the design of the system went deeper than words and acts we do not deny, but the fact still remains that the phase of religious development under the system was one of outward obedience to positive command, and consisted chiefly in a round of external observances. The letter rather than the spirit—the form of godliness without the power—were the manifested characteristics of the religion of Moses. As the slavery in Egypt compacted Israel into a nation capable of being governed, so the Jewish religion, by its very oppression, prepared the way for Christianity. The hecatombs of sacrifices and the blood-streaming altars were the necessary foundation on which to rear the cross and elevate the Lamb of God, slain from the foundation of the world. Men must learn the majesty of the divine government and the sacredness of law before they can be trusted with the guidance of principles in matters of religion. They must first bow in blind obedience and reverence to divine authority, before they can be admitted into the secret of the Most High and made co-workers with God. Beneath this hard and inflexible shell God was unfolding and maturing, during all the older dispensation, the petals of a spiritual growth which would one day burst into a flower of rarest beauty and sweetest bloom. The years of preparation were long and tedious, but when the fullness of time had come, suddenly Jesus burst

upon the world already prepared for his advent. The incoming of Christianity was a gigantic religious revolution, and before it Judaism vanished like a dream, the temple crumbled to dust, the altars of sacrifice were deserted, and the Jewish nation became extinct.

The Jews were a prepared people, and, in consequence, Christianity assumed at once among them a highly spiritual and glorious form. The apostolic Church was a spiritual brotherhood in which there was no distinction of class, but in which all stood equally related to God as his children. The long schooling of the law had lifted Israel into a capacity for enjoying the fullness of the blessings of the Gospel. Peter, addressing them, exclaimed, "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should show forth the praises of Him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvelous light."

But the Christian religion was soon to be carried into races and nations which had received no such previous training, and consequently had no such preparation. Grafted upon this new wild stock, Christianity will bloom in very different colors and will produce very different fruit. The law must here go with the Gospel, and Moses and Christ must teach side by side. Sinai and Calvary must be twin mountains, and the lightnings which play around the peak of the one must throw their red glare upon the cross which rises above the other. It may yet take ages of schooling and training before the nations can be elevated to a level with the apostolic Church, and during this long period Christianity will pass through many stages of its evolution and assume many different forms.

Transplanted from the land of the Jews, the religion of Jesus grew and spread mightily in other countries, and took deep root in the heart of Greek and Roman, Goth and Gaul, Vandal and Celt. But it could not be that from this common seed the same harvests should grow on all these different soils. The cultured Greek and barbaric Goth, though they bowed before the same cross, could not be Christians of the same type. The sunlight is pure white, but it always take the color of the glass through which it shines; and so the Christian religion is the same for all races and ages, but each race and age will give to it its specific tint and shadings.

Rome had held the world together with her linked legions for a thousand years, and when at last her power crumbled to pieces there was but one common bond left by which to unite the various races of the empire; and that was the clasp of a common religious faith. The ascendancy of the Church soon consolidated the diverse Christian races into one stupendous hierarchy, and thus gave to the world the great mediæval phase of Christianity.

For more than a thousand years Catholicism (and in this term is included both the Eastern and Western branches of the Church) was the embodiment of Christianity. It differed widely from the apostolic Church. It was the embodiment, not of the Gospel only, but of law and Gospel united. It was Judaized Christianity, with a strong element of paganism also. In it the high-priest still stood at the sacrificial altar, offering afresh the Lamb of God slain from the foundation of the world. The veil of the temple, rent from top to bottom at the crucifixion, re-appeared with the rent fully repaired, separating again the people from the holy of holies. Oblations and incense, new moons and feast-days, rites and ceremonies, held the same place as under the old dispensation, while spiritual worship and personal piety were only secondary and subordinate. The Pantheon at Rome to-day fitly symbolizes the Roman Catholic phase of Christianity. It is a heathen temple, and in the olden times the gods of ancient Rome were ensconced in niches all along its walls and had their shrines. Now it is a Christian Church, no further transformed than by simply the taking down of the old heathen statues and replacing them with statues of virgin and saint, or perhaps calling the heathen statues by Christian names. Roman arms destroyed the temple at Jerusalem, but Roman Catholicism rebuilt it in a thousand places, simply taking out of it patriarch and prophet and high-priest, and substituting martyr and saint and pope.

This first general unfolding of the Christian religion was its legal phase, and it naturally took the form of a spiritual despotism. Denying to men the right of private judgment, silencing every monition of conscience, and ruling them with the pains of penance and the terrors of excommunication, it fashioned them into a common vassalage and taught them unquestioning obedience to law and reverence for authority.

But the same foot which bruises the flower liberates its perfume; and the press which crushes the olive forces out its oil; and the flail whose blows fall heavily upon the threshing-floor beats out the wheat. And so a thousand years of grinding between the upper and nether millstones of Roman Catholicism prepared the fine flour of the Reformation. God had said, "If any man will do my will he shall know of the doctrine." Through obedience men shall rise to clearer views and broader visions of God and religion. The road to freedom runs through bondage, and the path to liberty leads through law. The Church had been in the school of DUTY for more than a thousand years, and at last in due time came her graduation to the school of doctrine.

On the Scala Santa at Rome a hooded monk who had in his cell thoroughly learned the lessons of obedience climbed step by step upon his knees into a new dispensation. While performing a duty imposed upon him by the Church, Luther heard ringing in his soul "The just shall live by faith;" and there half-way up the Scala Santa, amid the throes of penance, was the Reformation born—itself a new evolution of Christianity. It was the transition from *duty* to *doctrine*—from the law to the Gospel—from ethics to faith. At once the authority of the priesthood was denied and defied, the old chained Bible was released from its captivity, and the right of private judgment in the interpretation of the Scriptures was proclaimed. The priest was no longer a conscience for the people, but each man was declared to be a law unto himself. The uniform mass into which the Church had been compressed and compacted had crystallized and was ready for disintegration; and the moment the right of private judgment was proclaimed every man asserted and exercised it for himself. In this uprising of spiritual manhood the old robes of ecclesiasticism, spangled all over with forms, ceremonies, and penances, fell off, and the Church stood before the world having her loins girt with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness, her feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel, on her head the helmet of salvation, in her left hand the shield of faith, and in her right the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. The battle of truth was now to be fought, and every Christian was to be a hero in the fight. For two hundred years there-

after the champions of the Church met and contended in the arena of debate. Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Beza, Knox, Cranmer, are tall figures who stride like giants across the plains of the Reformation. In the conflict of truth where each man exercised his own judgment untroubled by authority it could not be otherwise than that different conclusions would be reached and different schools formed. Error clings tenaciously wherever it has been allowed to fasten its roots, and it was not easy therefore for the Reformers to shake it off at once. Luther tore loose from "Transubstantiation," but went down to his grave in the grip of "Consubstantiation." Little by little, and through many successive struggles, did the Church rise above superstition and error to a clear apprehension of the truth as it is in Jesus. As the result of this conflict the Reformation period was an age of creeds and sects. Nearly all the present forms of faith in Protestantism were born during that period; and they all rested, not upon different forms of government or polity, nor upon different bases of morality, but upon different interpretations of the Bible. Admission to the Church was through the Catechism. A man's belief counted for more than the purity of his life. The fight of faith was a conflict of doctrines, and every arrow must be feathered with a proof-text. Intellect was emancipated; thought ransacked God's word; the human mind, fed thus with divine food, developed giant strength; and during this period flourished the theologians of all later times. The Church had been schooled under Roman Catholicism to obey law and respect authority. Under the Reformation she interpreted the divine law and traced all authority in religion up to the Eternal Throne.

But the Reformation scarcely realized the lofty type of Christianity exhibited in miniature in the apostolic Church. It was a great advance upon Roman Catholicism in the right direction, but it stopped short of the New Testament goal. Duty comes first, doctrine next, and experience last. Do God's will and you shall know of the doctrine. Believe the doctrine and you shall have the experience.

The third and last great evolution of Christianity is a little less than a hundred and fifty years old. John Wesley, though he had learned all that the theologians could teach him of doc-

trine, yet pined and prayed to know more of God and salvation. He had passed through the schools and had developed a mental vigor and penetration second to none, yet in conversation with the Moravians at Savannah and in London he discovered himself to be utterly ignorant of the experience which they possessed and enjoyed. This higher phase of Christianity—this experimental religion—he sought in almost all possible ways. He sought it under the law in self-sacrificing labors for humanity. He sought it in doctrine, in intensest study and investigation, but failed to find it. At last in a small company met in a private room, in Aldersgate Street, London, while one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans, he tells us: "I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ—Christ alone—for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

Thus, while Luther's doctrine was being read, he was lifted above doctrine and was carried beyond the Reformation into soul-experience of divine things. That moment Methodism was born, and from that hour Christianity has been unfolding into new beauty and presenting a new phase to the world. Individuals and little societies, here and there through all the ages, had known what the witness of the Spirit meant, and had thus kept alive in the minds of men the memory of the apostolic Church; but never until the days of the Wesleys did the modern Church rise into the realm of experimental religion and make it the one thing needful. Methodism is nothing but experimental religion. It is not any form of Church government, for we recognize it alike in all the forms of Methodism, notwithstanding the great difference in their forms of government. It is not in any creed, nor in any form of orthodoxy. Wesley was Arminian, and Whitefield was Calvinistic, but both were Methodists. It cannot be confined within any Church organization, but is overflowing constantly into all the Churches. Men who sing and get happy in religion are recognized as Methodists, no matter to what communion they belong, and are called by that name, sometimes in derision, but not so much as formerly, to distinguish them as experimental Christians. The organic Methodist Churches have no monopoly of Methodism. It has found its way into the Protestant Episco-

pal Church and put new life into it. It has entered the Presbyterian Church and made men forget "fore-ordination" and "predestination" and the "final perseverance of the saints" in the rapturous joy of a present salvation. It has gone and stood beside the pool in the Baptist Church, covered so unmistakably with the baptism of the Holy Ghost that the baptizers, like their great prototype, have been compelled to exclaim, "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" It is spreading in the Lutheran Church and covering the German's Fatherland, and under its inspiration men do not now stop with the sentence, "The just shall live by faith;" but, lifting their voice to a higher key, they are now shouting, "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself." Methodism does not mean simply a new Church organization—it means a new evolution in religion which is lifting the whole Christian Church into the "full assurance of faith." It is primitive Christianity resuscitated, and is destined to bring back the apostolic Church and plant it afresh over all Christendom. It does not bind Christians together by the force of law and authority; it does not unite them by subscription to a common creed; it makes them one by a common experience, and unites them in a great brotherhood by conscious vital union with the Lord Jesus Christ.

Methodism does not occupy the position of an antagonist to any former religious development. Like her Master, she comes "not to destroy, but to fulfill." She teaches no less reverence for divine authority and obedience to divine law than does Roman Catholicism. She insists no less upon a knowledge of the Scriptures and acceptance by faith of their doctrines than the Churches of the Reformation. But in addition to and beyond all these she teaches with unmistakable emphasis that "if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things have passed away; behold, all things are become new." She does not stand as a rival to any other denomination, seeking to proselyte the members of other communions to her altars. Her great mission is to spread scriptural holiness over all lands and to bless all the Churches by lifting them out of the bondage of servants into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. Methodism is not so much a denomination as it is an inspiration and a life for all the denominations. Chris-

tianity had before taken hold of human hands and heads—in Methodism it lays hold also of human hearts. Methodism is the last of a long series of religious unfoldings and is the outgrowth of all that had gone before. She does not stand related as a sister denomination to the Churches of the Reformation, or to the Greek and Latin Churches which preceded them. She is the daughter of the Reformation and the granddaughter of Catholicism. It sometimes happens that family resemblances will skip over one or more generations, and then the features of a long-buried ancestor re-appear in the child. So Methodism, skipping over her immediate ancestors, is a reproduction of the apostolic Church. The resemblance is so great that no one can mistake their relationship. Her lineage is the secret of her history and of her destiny. She is the latest born daughter of Zion and is heir to the throne.

ART. VI.—THE BOOK CONCERN OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

THE article in "Simpson's Cyclopeda of Methodism" entitled "Book Concern" is both able and generally correct so far as it goes, but it is deficient in some early historical particulars. These are valuable; and the writer, having them in his hands, proposes in this sketch to give to the readers of the "Methodist Review" an authentic account of the early history of that great institution.

The circulation of religious books by the preachers in America, under the Rev. John Wesley, began with the introduction of Methodism, and proved to be so profitable that the sales made were reported to the Annual Conference, and the proceeds thrown into a general fund for distribution among the preachers, to help in their maintenance. This will be seen by reference to the "Minutes of a Conference held at Ellis's Preach^g House in Sussex Cot^y, Virginia, April 17, 1782, and adjourned to Balt. Town May 21, inclusive."

The copy from which the quotation is made is in manuscript, no printed copies having yet been issued. In these Minutes is the following:

Q. 10. What shall be done to get a regular and impartial supply for the maintenance of the preachers?

Ans'. Let every thing they receive either in money or cloth* be valued by the stewards at Quarter-meet^s and an acc^t of the preachers' deficiencies given in to bring to Conference, that they may be supplied by the profits aris^e from the Books and the Conference Collection.

The book business, after the organization of the Church, was for a few years conducted by the whole body of "assistants" to the Bishop, and there is no evidence that any particular person was designated or employed specially to conduct this work. Two items taken from an old copy of the Minutes of the Christmas Conference held in Baltimore, Md., beginning December 27, 1784, will show this. On page 19, in answer to question 51, "Why are we not more knowing?" is the following: "But I have no Books."—"We desire the Assistants will take care that all the large Societies provide Mr. Wesley's Works for the use of the Preachers." And on page 31, in answer to question 73: "What can be done in order to revive the work of God where it is decayed?" we have, "5. Be active in dispersing Mr. Wesley's Books. Every Assistant may beg money of the rich to buy books for the poor."

The depositories were probably in the principal cities and towns under Methodist influence, and whatever publishing was done was sometimes at one place and sometimes at another. In the "Cyclopedia" article above referred to, the impression is made that the Rev. John Dickins, who served the Methodist Societies and Church in New York from 1783, with the exception of 1785 to 1789, was appointed to that charge "for the purpose of superintending our book business." Yet, if that was the case, it is matter of surprise that so important a tract as that of the Annual Minutes of Conference should be issued in places so remote from him. The Minutes of the Christmas Conference (see above) were issued from the press in Philadelphia, as the following will show, namely: "Philadelphia: Printed by Charles Cist, in Arch Street, the corner of Fourth Street. M,DCC,LXXXV."* The Minutes of the Annual

* The title of the Minutes above referred to is: "Minutes of Several Conversations between the Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D., the Rev. Francis Asbury, and others, at a Conference, begun in Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, on Monday, the 27th of December, in the Year 1784. Composing a Form of Discipline,

Conferences of 1785, 1786, 1787, were printed in Baltimore, Md., the first and last by John Hayes, in Light Street, and that of 1786 by William Goddard, in Market Street. In 1789—the year when John Dickins was stationed in Philadelphia, having the twofold charge of pastor of the church in that city and of book steward for the general connection—the Minutes were printed in New York, “by William Ross, in Broad Street;” and the Minutes of the sessions of the “Council” of 1789 and 1790 were published by William Goddard and James Angell, in Baltimore. In the Constitution of the Council of 1789, while under the third rule it was resolved that the Council “should direct and manage all the Printing which may be done, from Time to Time for the Use and Benefit of the Methodist Church in America,” it was determined under Rule 6 that

In the Intervals of the Council, the Bishop shall have power to act in all contingent Occurrences relative to the Printing Business, or the Education and Economy of the College.

Having incorporated these items in the Constitution, the Council adopted among other resolutions, the closing, No. 9, namely :

Considering the Weight of the Connection, the Concerns of the College, and the *Printing Business* [the italics are ours], it is resolved that another Council shall be convened at *Baltimore*, on the first day of December, 1790.

John Dickins was a member of that Council, as elder from the district of Pennsylvania.

In 1790 the Annual Minutes report that Philip Cox was appointed traveling book steward for Virginia, William Thomsa for the Peninsula (East Maryland, Delaware, and the Eastern Shore of Virginia), and John Dickins as “Superintendent of the Printing and Book-business.” These appointments were confirmed by the Council in its ensuing session; but the appointment of traveling book stewards was restricted to the Council when in session, upon the recommendation of “the Presiding Elder and Conference of a District, and, in the intervals of Council, by the Bishops;” and the publication of any matter outside of the books ordered to be issued by the Council for the Ministers, Preachers, and other Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Philadelphia: Printed by Charles Cist, in Arch Street, the corner of Fourth Street. M,DCC,LXXXV.”

was to be submitted to a publishing committee, which was intrusted with "full power to publish or suppress, as thought most proper." Richard Whatcoat, Henry Willis, Thomas Haskins, and John Dickins, "or any two of them," were the committee.

It will be seen, further, that the Methodist Book Concern, which in our day is a giant, was growing into existence; but its full development was to come thereafter. The Council continued:

Quest. What books shall be published in the course of the two following years?

Ans. The Arminian Magazine; the Rev. Mr. Fletcher's Works; Hymn Books; the Saint's Rest; the Christian's Pattern; the Primitive Physic; the Form of Discipline; Instructions for Children; and the Pamphlet on Baptism. But the Bishops shall have a discretionary power of preparing the controversy for the Magazine, and publishing such tracts as *they* may think necessary for the benefit of the connection: and John Dickins shall have a discretionary power of limiting the publications, according to the state of the finances.

Quest. Shall we publish Mr. Wesley's four volumes of Sermons before the sitting of the next Council?

Ans. If our finances will admit of it, and a sufficient number of subscribers can be obtained.

Quest. Shall the Bishop have power to draw any money out of the book-profits, for the *partial* supply of any Church or Preacher that may be in pressing need?

Ans. By the recommendation of the Elder of a district, the Bishop may draw as far as *Three Pounds* per month [Bishop Simpson has it three pounds per annum], but no farther.

It is to be inferred that, prior to the session of the Council of 1790, a book fund had been duly organized and was in active operation. On page 7 of the Minutes of the Council is the following:

Quest. What money is now in hand belonging to the Preachers' Fund?

Ans. One Hundred and Sixty-eight Pounds One Shilling and Four Pence.

Quest. What can be done to secure money, that may be collected for this purpose, in the *future*?

Ans. Let it be deposited in the Book-Fund, and draw lawful interest.

Quest. How shall money be drawn, from time to time, out of this Fund, for the relief of distressed Preachers?

Ans. When *such* a Preacher is recommended by a Conference,

the Bishop shall immediately draw an order for books, or money, to be obtained in any circuit or district.

The deposit of the Preachers' Fund with the Book Fund Committee began at once, as may be seen by referring to the Annual Conference Minutes. In 1792 question numbered 16 was:

Quest. What is the sum total for which the Book Concern is now accountable to the Preachers' Fund?

Ans. £182 16s. 3d.

In 1793 the same question was asked, and the answer was, "£301 17s. 6d.;" in 1794 it was, £415 7s. 8d. In 1795 the question was:

Quest. 14. For what sum is the Book Fund now responsible to the Preachers' Fund?

Ans. £400 17s. 9d.

The answer to this question in 1796 was £419 0s. 14d. This important matter is here given in order that we may account to some extent for the embarrassment of the Book Concern, as will be seen below. From 1796 the whole matter was left out of the Annual Conference Minutes.

After the close of the Council of 1790, the publishing interests of the Church were mainly carried forward in Philadelphia. Mr. Dickins had not, however, secured a department for printing in the same building where he was located—it was but an office for his work of superintendency, and a room for the deposit and sale of books. This room was changed three times while he had charge of the Book Concern. The first room was No. 182 Race Street; in 1794 it was No. 44 North Second Street, near Arch; then it was changed to No. 50 on the same street. The printing was done by Parry Hall, 149 Chestnut Street; and by Henry Tuckniss, No. 25 Church Alley.

Of the books published by the Concern from its beginning to the year 1796, inclusive, the following is a catalogue:

Wesley's "Notes on the New Testament," 3 vols.; the "Arminian Magazine," 2 vols.; Thomas à Kempis; the "Form of Discipline for the Methodist Church, as revised at the General Conference, 1792," with Treatises on Predestination, Perseverance, Christian Perfection, Baptism, etc., all bound together; "The Experience of Mr. Freeborn Garrettson;" a pocket hymn book, containing three hundred hymns; an abridgment of Mrs.

Rowe's "Devout Exercises of the Heart;" "The Saint's Everlasting Rest;" Mr. John Fletcher's Works, 6 vols.; the first volume of Mr. Francis Asbury's Journal; the Rev. John Wesley's Journal, vol. i; the Rev. John Wesley's Life; Extract from Law's "Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life;" Spiritual Letters, etc., by the Rev. John Fletcher; "Appeal to Matter of Fact and Common Sense," by the same; Sermons by the Rev. John Wesley, published one volume at a time—the first and second volumes published; Doddridge's "Sermons to Young People;" Minutes of the Methodist Conferences annually held in America, from the year 1773 to 1794, inclusive.

These were all bound volumes; besides these were the following, stitched:

"An Extract on Infant Baptism;" a "Funeral Discourse on the Death of the Rev. John Wesley;" a tract on Slavery; a Scriptural Catechism; Minutes of the Methodist Conferences annually held in America, for several late years, separately; the "Life of Monsieur de Renty;" the "Manners of the Ancient Christians;" "A Defense of Methodism;" "Nicodemus; or, a Treatise on the Fear of Man;" and Letters by Jane Cooper.

Thus we find that after six years from the beginning the Book Concern had issued twenty-seven bound volumes, and about fifteen tracts, the same being multiplied by hundreds and thousands, and scattered by the preachers throughout the bounds of American Methodism.

By reason of the loss of the Minutes of the General Conference of 1792, and also, according to Dr. Bangs's statement (see his "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. ii), of 1796, the full proceedings of those sessions cannot be given; but it is evident from facts furnished in the Annual Conference Minutes that the interests of the Book Concern were closely guarded.

To add to the valuable material furnished by Drs. Nathan Bangs and Abel Stevens in their Church histories, the following is taken from the manuscript Journal of Rev. Ezekiel Cooper concerning the General Conference of 1792. He says:

Thursday, Nov. 1. General Conference sat at 9 o'clock A. M. We had a large concourse of preachers from throughout the United States, and two from Nova Scotia. In all we had in this Conference a hundred and fourteen regular members, besides a number who were not regular members. Our business began in great love and unity. We took up all this day in preparing our rules and regulations for proceeding through the Conference:

the Bishop (Coke) to preside in the business; a Moderator was appointed daily to keep order; a committee of eight, two Bishops and six Elders, was appointed to prepare the business for the Conference. We formed ourselves in regular legislative order: motions made, seconded, debated, called for, put, voted, and carried. We appointed for preaching to be every night and morning while Conference should hold, by the preachers in order—a new preacher every time.

During Conference we had much debating upon various subjects; but still love continued. We spoke plainly and freely what was in our minds; made several alterations and improvements in our form of discipline. I believe great good will result from this Conference, though there are four or five preachers much dissatisfied at some things that were done. Several were ordained; a few missionaries were sent to different parts—one to [New] Grenada; one to Newfoundland; two to Nova Scotia, etc.

Thursday, Nov. 15. We this day finished our business in Conference about 5 o'clock in the afternoon. We returned our unanimous thanks to Dr. Coke for his labors in serving the Conference.

The appointment of John Dickins as Superintendent of the Book Concern was continued, as also that of book stewards, whose duty it was chiefly to circulate the books sold by the Church. Their number increased, from year to year, until after the General Conference of 1796, when the system of appointing book agents other than the General Superintendent gradually died out.

The General Conference of 1796 did not, as in the previous session of that body, also of the Council, appoint special persons to act as a committee to regulate the publications from the Book Concern, but intrusted that matter to the Philadelphia Annual Conference; but not having time for such work, a new regulation was provided, as is shown in the Minutes for 1797. On pages 19, 20, appears the following Minutes:

Quest. 14. What regulations have been made in respect to the Printing business and the publication of books?

Ans. The Philadelphia Conference, in whom the management of these affairs was invested by the General Conference, and who have not time during their annual sittings to complete this business, have, by the advice and consent of Bishop Asbury, unanimously appointed the following persons to be a standing committee, namely:

Ezekiel Cooper, *Chairman.*

Thomas Ware, John M'Claskey, Christopher Spry, Presiding Elders; William McLenahan, Richard Swain, Solomon Sharp,

Charles Cavender, Elders. The above committee are to meet in Philadelphia, on the 2nd of January, 1798, and once a quarter afterward, or oftener if necessary, to consider and determine what manuscripts, books, or pamphlets shall be printed.

Four of the said committee, when met as above, shall proceed to business, provided that the chairman and one of the presiding elders be present. And the general book steward shall lay before the committee all manuscripts, books, and pamphlets which are designed for publication, except such as the General Conference has authorized him to publish.

This was done at the Conference held in Smyrna, Del., then known as Duck Creek Cross-Roads, begun October 10, 1797. It was to have met in Philadelphia, but the prevalence of the yellow fever in that city caused the change.

The Book Committee was called together nearly two weeks earlier than the time designed by the Conference, probably because Dr. Coke could be with them to counsel and aid them. Mr. Cooper has left the following account :

Philadelphia, Wed., 20th Dec., 1797. We sat on the business committed to us by the Conference. We had Dr. Coke, Bro' Spry, M'Claskey, Swain, Sharp, Cavender, and myself. We sat eight days closely on the business: fixing and preparing different books for the press, particularly the Form of Discipline with Explanatory Notes; four Sermons on the Duty of the Gospel Ministry, by Doctor Coke—and resolved on sundry other publications; and made a few regulations respecting the Book Concern.

In 1784, at the Christmas Conference, the Preachers' Fund was organized, which, in 1796, was changed in its title to the Chartered Fund; and, 1797, this organization was incorporated by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. Into this establishment, as Simpson's Cyclopedia says, the General Conference of 1796 ordered that "the proceeds of the sales of our books, after authorship debts are paid, and a sufficient capital is provided for carrying on the business," should be deposited.

The affairs of the Book Concern were thrown into much confusion by the death of John Dickins, the superintendent, in September, 1798. A week after that sad event Bishop Asbury wrote to Ezekiel Cooper, then stationed in Wilmington, Del., the following letter :

GERMANTOWN, Oct. 4, 1798.

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER : What I have greatly feared for years hath now taken place: Dickins the generous, the just, the

faithful, skillful Dickins is dead! I have had but one day to deliberate—duty, necessity calleth me to be precipitant. You will anticipate what I am going to write. It is to you, and you only, I can look at present, in the recess of the Philadelphia Conference, to assist Asbury Dickins in the conducting our work as heretofore. You will correct the press? You will superintend the state and entries of the various accounts, that the Connection and the family suffer no material injury? The Magazine must be continued; 5 or 10,000 Hymn Books will be wanting immediately, and sundry other books. Brother Lee will, if he is furnished with the proper papers, collect what money can be obtained southward; we have done what we could eastward. My dear brother, I need say but little; you will have it in your power to render the Connection and family such extensive service as your heart, I hope, desires.

I can only appoint at present, that the cause and family may not suffer. What the Philadelphia Conference will do is with them. You know my ideas of the business. I hope to be at Isaac Hersey's on Friday evening, at North East on Sabbath.

My health is greatly repaired, but O, what is life? We have had great prospects eastward. As soon as the city is accessible you will go in. We shall send the Minutes for the present year. My long-lost manuscript Journal I left with Betsy Dickins. [She had died on the same day her father was called.] I must read it over before any thing can be done. I am afraid to have it sent but by a sure hand, by land. I feel resolved, if the Conference pleaseth, to publish my scraps of Journals as my all to the Connection, and answer to those that trouble me. In this sickly state of things I must make haste. I am as ever, thine,

FRANCIS ASBURY.

Some letters written by Mr. O'Kelly, now in Philadelphia, to Mr. Wesley and the Doctor, I wanted to confront that wonderful man. Brother Lee, and some others, with myself, premeditate to attend the Republican Conference to demand the author of the book entitled *Christicola*, and combat the charges as false.

This letter was received by Mr. Cooper twenty days after it was written, and, reluctantly, he took charge of the place made vacant by the death of Mr. Dickins, arriving at Philadelphia on the 1st of December, the fever having somewhat abated. Upon looking into the affairs of the Book Concern, after two weeks' careful investigation, he was not inclined to engage in the work as Agent during that winter. He says:

There is a considerable incumbrance on it, which I am not willing to take upon myself; and the executors of Mr. Dickins's estate will not give me the property on hand unless I will first

assume the debt due from the Concern, which is more than four thousand five hundred dollars. I proposed that I would be accountable for as much as the amount of property put into my hand, or, that I would be accountable for all the property which I received either in books or money, in the payments made by the different preachers in debt to the Concern; but that I should not engage to pay a large debt upon the credit of debts due to the Concern scattered abroad from New Hampshire to Georgia, and some of it in very doubtful hands, and of many years' standing. So I, of course, do not engage in the business till further instructions, and a suitable stipulation between me and the Conference, or between the Bishop and me.

Mr. Cooper's conclusion was communicated to Bishop Asbury, and drew from him the following letter, which, like the one previously given, appears for the first time in print. It is written on a broken sheet of paper, and has also, on the same sheet, a letter from Rev. Jesse Lee, who was Mr. Asbury's traveling companion :

January 8, 1799.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND: I anticipated the difficulties that would come in your way of conducting the Book Concern. It was not in my power to stipulate with you for what sum and for what time you should have the management. We feel ourselves under doubts with respect to remitting money without special assurances of the application, and proper security for our property. We cannot desire any person to do our work for nothing; yet we want it punctually done. Brother Haskins's and Asbury Dickens's letters came while the Conference was sitting in this city. Conference voted, hit or miss, to carry on the work forthwith; and nominated several Books to be printed immediately. Conference agreed that a committee should consider the contents of your letter received this day.

We feel our doubts concerning the printing more books at present. We have some scruples upon our minds, if it will be possible to carry on the work in Philadelphia in future. The collecting of money will be attended to by Brother Lee with the greatest activity and punctuality. If you stay in town I wish you would see books sent to orders, that we may sell off with great speed. I judge it will not be improper for you, upon the side and safety of the Connection, to keep a list of money paid to the executors, and how it is applied; and you may keep an account of all the books you send out, and receive the cash for them; and what you shall have for your service you must leave to the Conference. How to talk at the distance of 700 miles is not easy; my infirmity, and the general abuse I have had from men that have risen up against us, and the great suspicions raised in the minds of [some of] the ministry still with us, make me

very cautious in my movements. I am with respect and heartfelt concern thy Brother in Jesus,

FRANCIS ASBURY.

If I should not write to Brother Haskins you may show him this letter and welcome.

Mr. Lee's letter was :

CHARLESTON, January 9, 1799.

DEAR BROTHER : I have liberty, from Mr. Asbury, to write to you and request you to have the Minutes of the last year's Conferences printed—from one to two thousand copies, or any number you please not exceeding 2,000. And if the Philadelphia Conference should disapprove of it, I will engage to pay you the money that shall be expended, and take the whole concern on myself. If you are unwilling to have them printed, please let me know of it against I get to Baltimore, and I expect I shall have them printed at Baltimore. I think it is quite likely the Book business will be removed to Baltimore. Asbury Dickins had the copy of the Minutes. I remain, yours in love, JESSE LEE.

P. S. I expect to collect a good deal of Book Money, but shall feel unwilling to send it forward till I can hear that some Methodist *man* is willing to receive it and answer for it. If you undertake that part of the business, I will gladly remit the money to you as soon as possible. I expect to be in Newburn by the middle of February, and in Norfolk the last of March.

I expect to have \$400 or \$500 in my hands for the Book Concern in a few days.

J. L.

The course taken by Mr. Cooper met with general approval, and, as we see from the foregoing letter of Bishop Asbury, plainly indicated an extraordinary embarrassment of the Book Concern. He received also a letter from Richard Bassett, Esq., Governor of Delaware, dated February 26, 1799, in which are these words :

I think you are perfectly right in not entangling yourself with the Book business until you can see your way clear, but should suppose you will be entirely able so to do after the Conference.

Mr. Cooper, though declining the superintendency of the Book Concern, consented to remain in the city through the winter, and to serve the Church in the line of the ministry ; and it is to be inferred that he acceded to the request of Mr. Lee in regard to the publication of the Minutes of the Conferences of 1798. They were printed in Philadelphia "by William W. Woodward, No. 17 Chestnut, near Front Street." There was no statement, as before and afterward, of their having been published for and sold by the General Superintend-

ent of the Book Concern. It is also to be inferred that, as he was always obedient to the instructions of his Bishop, he attended to the sending of books ordered, and received the cash for them.

The Philadelphia Annual Conference met in Philadelphia June 6, 1799, and during its session elected Ezekiel Cooper, by ballot, as "Editor and General Book Steward." About a month thereafter he issued and printed in the Annual Minutes for that year an address "To the Preachers and Friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church :"

DEAR BRETHREN : Whereas Bishop Asbury and the Philadelphia Conference have made choice of me as *Agent* for the Connection, to superintend our Book Concern as Editor and General Book Steward, and as I have been prevailed upon, though with reluctance, to accept the appointment, I consider it my duty to address you upon the subject.

It is well understood that the book business among us is designed for the excellent purpose of spreading and cultivating moral and religious knowledge; hence, we confine ourselves to the publication of books and pamphlets upon subjects of morality and divinity; more especially such as treat on experimental and practical religion. It is also known that the pecuniary profits arising from the business are appropriated to the exclusive benefit of the Connection, as an auxiliary to us in the important work of spreading the Gospel of our salvation the more extensively through the world. From these considerations it must appear to be the duty of all our friends to promote the Book Concern by all convenient means and religious endeavors. What can an Agent do in this business without the mutual endeavors of preachers and members in selling, buying, and circulating the books? Also it is indispensably necessary that punctuality be observed in making remittances; that the Agent may be able to make his payments to the paper-makers, printers, book-binders, etc. Every one who has money in hand, due to the Connection, should forward it without delay. And I hope that orders for books will be sent on; which I will endeavor to answer as soon, and so far, as the returns I receive will enable me to do.

In consequence of numerous drafts formerly made upon the Concern for different purposes, and the great neglect in making remittances, the business is considerably in debt and somewhat embarrassed. When I engaged in the business I had not one dollar of cash in hand belonging to the Concern, and have received but few remittances since. There are large sums due, and I most earnestly solicit the brethren to diligence and punctuality. The business may answer a noble purpose to the Connection, provided the brethren are spirited and industrious in promoting it.

Some of our brethren have acted laudably and praiseworthily in this business. I wish the same could be said of them all.

It is my deliberate opinion that no other drafts whatever should be made on the Concern until its debts are paid and the capital be sufficient to carry on the business without further embarrassments. O, brethren, help in this important work! I also advise, in all cases of transfer of books, debts, etc., from one to another, that the brethren be regular and particular in the same; and that they give correct advice thereof to the Agent here, with a receipt or certificate from the person to whom a transfer may be made. If a transfer be made at any time to an improper person, it ought to be considered that the Agent here may refuse releasing the one and taking the other. In cases where it can be done, the brethren, in all exchanges of books or transfers, should settle them among themselves, and not trouble the Agent with them. There have been inconveniences arising from want of attention in this matter. If a preacher leave a circuit with books in it [unsold], he should have them collected at one place and make out an exact inventory of them; and the preacher who succeeds him should, in duty, take charge of the books as per inventory, and advise the Agent accordingly.

I have opened my accounts, and expect to make out bills, etc., in dollars and cents. This will be easier to the brethren throughout the United States; for dollars and cents are everywhere the same, but pounds, shillings, and pence vary in the different States.

In brotherly love, dear brethren, I am yours, affectionately,

PHILADELPHIA, July 10, 1799.

EZEKIEL COOPER.

For six months the Book Concern was without a General Agent, and the property was left in the hands of Asbury Dickins, son of the late Superintendent, and John Haskins, a layman in the Church in Philadelphia, who, as executors of the late Rev. John Dickins, continued the sale of the books; but it was of the nature of a clearing-out sale. A few days after his election Mr. Cooper "took a Book Room," and entered upon the business of the Concern. Such were the embarrassments around him that he was led to say, in his Journal:

Ah! the trouble I have of it in closing up and settling the old Concern and commencing the new! Were the fatigue and labor to continue as it now is, I would not carry it on for any consideration.

A further embarrassment awaited him. In about a month he found that the former tenant of the house he had rented had not paid his rent, and that the Connection's property was in

danger of being seized for back rent. "The law is such," says he, "that any person's property found in the house is liable for rent. Hence I at 1 o'clock called a cart, and got a few friends to assist me, and we moved all the books and papers to another place, to secure them from being taken to pay another person's rent." The new office and Book Room was No. 47 North Fourth Street. These premises were held for about a year, when the Book Concern was moved to No. 118 North Fourth Street, and there the business was conducted until it was moved to New York.

By the action of the General Conference of 1800 the editor and book steward was left without any pastoral charge. His attention being wholly given to the interests of the book business, it began at once to develop greater vital energy, and light began to dawn on the still beclouded pathway. The following invaluable letter of Bishop Asbury will give the searcher after historic truth much aid :

MY DEAR COOPER : Grace and peace be with thy spirit. I have premeditated a letter to you for some months. We have had a gracious season in Conference for five days. Brother Blanton is located. Stith Mead is to preside in the State of Georgia, James Jenkins in South Carolina. Brother Blanton showed me an answer of \$1,000 by John Harper. William McKendree, you perhaps know by this, commands in the West. John Kobler was appointed to the Richmond District, but I fear he hath failed. I heard that P. Bruce was at his father's in North Carolina; I desired him upon his return to see if J. Kobler was upon his station; if not, to take it himself; if Kobler was in place I desired Brother Bruce to go to Norfolk.

We will do what little we can to collect for you, but we might as well climb up to the moon as attempt to get some of those debts. I thank you for the advice given of the middle ground; we have some time to consider upon it between this and the Yearly Conference, when it will probably be brought before the Yearly Conference—at least we may suppose the Presiding Elder and Elder will implead each other in the presence of Conference.

I had no doubt but you would feel like wishing to be out of the business of Book making. But, my dear, it is not so easily done. You will have many a shot. I say in all company, when I speak, that you are deeply concerned for the interests of the Connection, and go very near the wind in all your movements for good.

You are easy of access I have found, readily pacified by a word or a line; you are not a man of intrigue, but open and therefore I love you. The very thought that I gave a nomination to your appointment is enough: those that dislike me will disapprove you.

I advise you, as a friend, to retire into your own business as much as possible. I only wish that those that think hardly of you or me could, if it was right, be only punished with our places they so much envy; but many would: God forbid! and we will also oppose it.

I think our Scripture Catechism is one of the best in the world; but it could be amended by you, and laid before the next Conference in the amendment. I gave the outlines to John Dickins. I think now, if you propose, in your own language, questions such as these, and answer them wholly in Scripture, thus: What is the duty of parents? What is the duty of husbands—wives; children; ministers; rulers; subjects; masters; servants? What is the duty of Christians, one to another? and so on, it would in my view be most excellent. We could enforce catechizing if we had a complete guide. Thine,

F. ASBURY.

CAMDEN [S. C.], Jan. 7, 1801.

The same letter contains a note from Bishop Whatcoat which indicates the closeness with which Mr. Cooper pressed his business. It is as follows:

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER: We spoke to the Conference about the \$10 you reminded us of, but cannot get it; you must set it down to the Sinking Fund. The Books were spoiled and scattered. We are concerned for the peace of your Church, but much prayer, patience, and forbearance, with great moderation, appears to be needful at this time. What need we have to stand, like an iron pillar, strong! May the good Lord bless you, and all the Lord's people! Thine in love,

R. WHATCOAT.

In both of these letters reference is made to an unpleasant condition of affairs in the St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, and as it led to disagreeable relations between the editor and superintendent of the Book Concern, and was one of the causes, probably the chief cause, of its removal to another city, a statement thereof is here given. The facts are drawn from the manuscript journal of Rev. Ezekiel Cooper.

During the summer of 1800 a disagreeable variance occurred in the society at St. George's, in which the so called "wealthy and respectable" members took issue with "the poor and ignorant." The majority was of the latter; but the minister stationed among them opposed them, and favored the rich minority. Seeing that in some particulars both parties were blameworthy, Mr. Cooper maintained for some time a neutral position, hoping thereby to contribute to a spirit of compro-

mise ; but as the dispute was of long continuance, and involved measures of the greatest practical importance, he was censured in turn by each, for he could not agree wholly with either side. In his own language, he says :

But ah ! at length many of the warm, fiery, and intemperate minds, who had more zeal and prejudice than wisdom and prudence—more of self-will and passion than brotherly kindness and Christian moderation—more of self-importance than self-knowledge—became extremely offended with me, for no other cause that I know of than because I ventured to oppose them wherein I believed them to be wrong. They were astonished at me. The “wealthy and respectable” were surprised at me, to take part with what they called “the poor and ignorant part of the society” against them ; and the others lamented and were surprised that I did not give them a more decided support in opposition to what they considered “the overbearing measures of the great men.”

The dissension increased, and the stationed preacher, Mr. McCombs, added to the confusion by displacing several class-leaders who differed from him in opinion, which action his presiding elder, Mr. Everett, declared to be a stretch of power. Thereupon a difference arose between them, and the pastor having refused to yield to the presiding elder, the latter resolved to move him to another place in his district, and placed Richard Sneath in charge of the church in the city. Mr. McCombs declined to go to the circuit to which he was appointed. On Mr. Sneath’s coming to the charge agreeable to appointment, matters grew worse : some of the local preachers of “the respectable” party refused to take appointments from or to preach under the administration of Mr. Sneath, and, with a number of other members, declined to attend services in the church ; some went not at all, others very seldom. Mr. Cooper then made a proposition : that a committee, composed of an equal number from both sides, should be appointed to devise a plan for the restoration of peace and unity ; that the conditions and terms agreed upon should in nowise be contrary to the Discipline of the Church ; and that when agreed upon they should be laid before the presiding elder for his approval. The proposition was not agreed to, being particularly opposed by Mr. McCombs and his party. Thereafter Mr. Cooper was regarded as identified with the “poor and ignorant” party ; the opposition calling him the leader, the counselor,

and the main-spring of their enemies. Having now for the most part withdrawn from the regular church services, meetings were held by them in private houses, in the jail, etc., and a work of revival having broken out among the church attendants, they opposed it with much severity, characterizing it as a delusion. In this spirit they grew more and more violent, and finding that they could not prevail, "having," as Mr. Cooper tells us, "the presiding elder, Mr. Sneath, myself, the Quarterly Conference, and the majority of the society against them, they resolved to carry their measures to the next Annual Conference, by way of protest against the presiding elder and the Quarterly Conference. They accordingly wrote off to the Bishops who were in the South—the others wrote also—and the business laid in an unsettled way till Conference."

The Philadelphia Annual Conference held in the spring of 1801 revoked nothing that had been done, and the presiding elder, Mr. Everett, and Mr. McCombs having become reconciled with each other, the Bishops were requested to write a letter to the members advising them on all sides to drop every point in dispute, and to return to peace and quietude. The decision of the Conference, and the letter of the Bishops, gave additional offense to the dissatisfied party, and they all withdrew—about sixty in number—from the Methodist Church, and set up their worship in the old City Academy, having separate preachers and members. This body afterward constituted the Union Church in Philadelphia. At the time of their withdrawal the St. George's Church was involved in a debt of more than \$3,000, contracted mainly by them, for they had the management of the temporal affairs of the church, and it was intimated by them that the members adhering to the church would never be able to pay the debt; that the church would be sold by its creditors; that they would buy it. In less than a year, however, all the debts against the church were paid, an insurance against fire was secured to the amount of six thousand dollars, the Ebenezer Church was finished, a most remarkable revival of religion had taken place among them, and about four hundred members were added to the church from which the sixty had withdrawn.

The Annual Conference of 1802 agreed to give the separatists a preacher upon such honorable terms as they and the

Bishops should agree upon, and within a few years peace and harmony were restored.

These historic facts are thus given in detail not only to explain statements made in the letters of the Bishops above given, but also to throw light upon points in the valuable letters now to follow.

Bishop Asbury wrote to Mr. Cooper on the 27th of March, 1801, from Portsmouth, Virginia, a letter in which he shows again his interest in the affairs of the Book Concern, and states that though he and his colleague, Bishop Whatecoat, had received but little money for the books sold by members of the Conferences attended, it was deemed best to forward it to him at once. In December, also, the following letter was written :

CAMDEN, SOUTH CAROLINA, *December 31, 1801.*

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER : I have received your letters, for which I thank you, and for other attentions. When we were told the debt * was paid, I wondered by what mint or magic you had collected \$4,000 in four months; but when we had chapter and verse the wonder ceased. O zeal! zeal! what will it not do when made elastic by opposition! I hope the next thing will be to purchase, as perhaps you may at a low price, or build, a house for the preachers, after more than thirty years.

I find that the book market is good in the South, and the Presiding Elders and preachers are very diligent. I believe *we* need say but little. As to Bowen and Weeks, I doubt if any settlement to purpose will ever be made. I do not wish to meddle much in the Book Concern; we have so many cooks, and some very unskillful. I pushed three books into the press, and I shall expect reflections as long as they are in circulation—if I am in circulation. As a friend I would advise you (as I am one that hath eyes and ears every-where) to keep close to Fletcher's and Wesley's most excellent parts. As to my Journals, I feel my delicacies about having them printed at all in my life-time; it may only put it in the power of my enemies to abuse me as Mr. O'Kelly has in the second part of the same tune; and my hands will be bound by inability, or some local influences. I am sorry to be a burden to my friends, or the Connection; I do not wish to crowd myself, or the Connection, with more services than they call for. I was willing, at the request of some of my special friends, to submit an impression of the Journal to the press; 'tis true the General Conference approved it, and it was my wish that it should go out in numbers, but it appeared to me that the general mind of the General Conference was that it should come out in a volume. I have been taught to understand that a printer

* Debt of the St. George's Society in Philadelphia.

should point, and if he could not point he could not print. I do not choose to print any man's Journal but my own; my language in preaching and writing is my own, good or bad. If you choose to send out the number upon good paper, I shall submit; but I have been making up my mind closely to inspect and strike out what, upon close thinking, I shall disapprove, and lay them by to be printed after my death, or to let them die with me. About twenty pages in four months' traveling will not be a great burden to the press. My first part was transcribed by one that did not understand my writing.

As to the Hymn Book, I can only say we have such a republic of critics and printers they will do as they please; but I presume if you had a thousand more to send into every district than you have sent they would soon be sold. Only let the work be done well, and there is no doubt of the sale of our books; the Presbyterians, and others, will purchase our books.

To the Trustees (of the St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church, P.):

Respected Brethren: I thank you for the attention you have manifested to me in your address, and accounts of payments. I rejoice exceedingly that we are just, and may be generous, and do nothing through strife and vainglory. I hope your zeal and charity will provide a house for your preacher, and prevent a moth-eating rent. Let us pray much and love the more; then we shall live holy and die happy. Farewell.

Yours for Christ's sake,

FRANCIS ASBURY.

Since I began this letter Brother Whatcoat arrived with your letter—an apology for paper. Your pardon is granted. See, *thou art made whole*. 'Tis generally granted our books are the best, intrinsically and extrinsically; only let us keep them so.

In 1802 the Philadelphia Annual Conference appointed a Book Committee composed of Thomas Ware, presiding elder of Philadelphia District; John McClaskey, George Roberts, stationed preachers in the city; and Ezekiel Cooper. The Minutes of the Conferences for that year also contained an address to the preachers and members of the Church, prepared, doubtless, by Mr. Cooper, wherein it is stated that the Book Concern "is in a prosperous way at present;" that the agent in that business "has paid better than \$2,000 of the old debts since last General Conference;" that "our Hymn Book has been revised and improved, and the copyright secured, agreeably to the concurrent resolve of the Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York Conferences;" and "it has been in contemplation to publish a Methodist Repository, consisting of experiences, accounts of revivals of religion, remarkable deaths, etc."

In 1803 the Philadelphia Annual Conference voted, almost unanimously, that the Book Concern should be removed from Philadelphia to Baltimore. The Agent was not disposed to favor the change, and by reason thereof the following letter was written to him by Bishop Asbury :

My DEAR BROTHER : As the executive of the Conference, and your friend, I think it my duty to tell you that I think it your duty, in obedience to the Conference, to move to Baltimore about the first of October. You know there have been many changes among your brethren ; I hope that you also will bear a part ; it is my wish, if I cannot keep the people out of contention, to save the preachers. As to any reports that are false and groundless, you can as easily combat them at Baltimore, as in Philadelphia, by word or letter. I think any preacher that has been stationed in Philadelphia for six or seven years, should be removed if he was not local, and altogether out of my power. I wish every person to be moved that can be moved, and every thing that can be done, for peace and union, to be done. You are not ignorant that other preachers have been called, suspended, and some removed at a word, to serve the wishes of some dissatisfied minds ; you will take your turn with others, and as there was such a unanimity in the vote of the Conference it ought to have weight with you. As an individual, it is nothing to me, your going or staying. I have no spleen against you ; I only want peace in the societies by any good means. I wonder why you should wish to stay where you must have had great distress of mind ; and I have thought it must cause your ill health.

I am most sincerely your friend,

F. ASBURY.

SOUDERSBURG, July 24, 1803.

Bishop Asbury had spent three days in Philadelphia before going to Soudersburg ; had preached once at the Academy, and was well acquainted with the condition of affairs in the Methodist societies ; for their divisions were not yet healed. Hence the above pointed letter written nearly three months after the adjournment of the Philadelphia Conference. Mr. Cooper, however, did not remove the Book Concern to Baltimore,* but

* Mr. Cooper's reasons for not moving the Book Concern to Baltimore are set forth in the following, as stated by himself :

" Why not remove to Baltimore, etc.

" 1. Because, not for the interest of the Book Concern to move. (Paper, printing, binding, expense and risk of moving.)

" 2. The General Conference has fixed it in Philadelphia, and given no power to Philadelphia Conference to remove it. (G. R., though for removal, agreed against the Philadelphia Conference taking power on them as in case of C. E. Trustees, etc., etc.)

continued its management in Philadelphia until the latter part of the year 1804, when it was removed to New York. This was done, we think, by order of the General Conference of 1804, which also elected Rev. John Wilson Assistant Editor and Book Steward. At that Conference, also, the pastoral term of office in any particular charge was limited to two years, and the Book Agent and his Assistant were stationed each over a church under said rule. In the Minutes of the Annual Conferences from 1805 to 1808, these officers of the Book Concern are not set forth as book stewards, but as pastors; thus, in 1805 and 1806 Ezekiel Cooper was stationed in Brooklyn, and John Wilson in New York, and in 1807 and 1808 John Wilson was stationed in Brooklyn, and Ezekiel Cooper in New York. The General Conference of 1808 removed the additional burden of the regular pastorate from the shoulders of the editors

"3. The Baltimore Conference has not been consulted, etc. (Why send it out of one district to another without Discipline for it?)

"4. I purposed giving up the business, and concluded to leave it where I found it.

"5. My workmen were engaged and under way. They would have removed if I could have engaged to have kept the business, and given or engaged them the work—neither of which I could engage. I did not know who would succeed me, and I could make no engagement for them.

"6. It would have been difficult to engage workmen at Baltimore to have entered our business, and put off their former customers unless they could have had assurances of a continuation of the work, which I could not give them under the purpose of giving up the business, and I could not give assurances for what my successor would do. Hence it would have been difficult to have got the work done fast enough.

"7. The removal at all events would cause a great stoppage and delay in the work. And as I apprehended another stoppage at and about Conference, which would have made two stoppages, etc., instead of one, so I concluded it would be better to let the work go on, and have but one stoppage, and that at and about Conference.

"8. After the vote of Conference for removal, certain persons began to boast how they had prevailed in having the business removed, etc. *They!* was it *they* that did it; and were all these difficulties, risks, expenses, and stoppages merely to please and oblige them? I concluded this must not be. I spoke to G. R. about their triumph, and told him I would not go if this was the case, and if they continued their triumphant boast. What did Cavender say to Sharp? *They*, to get me out of town, had got the business fixed, etc. *They*, indeed! this, as evidence of boasting, etc.

"9. Some one intimated the vote was in consequence of my statement to Conference (informant, Sargent). This appeared calculated to fix it on me, if any blame; and to take it on themselves, if it suited their purpose."

and superintendents of the Book Concern; and thereafter their names do not appear as connected with any separate charge while incumbents of that office.

In addition to the labors of the Book Concern and the pastorate, an additional care was undertaken by the General Agent and his Assistant: that of a yearly visit to the Conferences, in the interests of the book business. It was assumed by the recommendation of Bishop Asbury, and has from the beginning been continued, and has been a great source of benefit to the Church in her publishing interests. The following letter, in which it is suggested, is here presented:

NEW ROCHELLE, July 26, 1805.

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER: I have rode rapidly two hundred and thirty miles in six days to redeem a day to write. I think that you might, with the assistance of Brother Wilson, attend five Conferences out of the seven every year. You could take Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. The critical state of the bills and banks [demands this]; the preachers will be brought to a settlement better at Conference than [at] any other time. Brother Crawford is appointed to ride with me: if he can render you any service at the Western or Southern Conference, you will give orders. I should be exceedingly glad to see Mr. Wesley's Sermons published, up to the ninth and last volume, this year. Then I should be pleased to see one complete set of his journals taken in America; and a set of his Appeals. It's time, after thirty-six years, these were done.

I have had a thought of buying a light Jersey wagon, that I may go at the rate of the mail stage, and visit all the towns and cities in the winter, and go to the westward in the fall; but the greatness of the expense is one difficulty; the badness of the roads another. . . . I have no more to do with the Book Concern than another preacher, nor so much. If I were to keep a little stage the person in company, Brother Crawford or some other, would carry a selection of the books of the Connection.

I am, as ever, thy friend,

F. ASBURY.

Rev. EZEKIEL COOPER, Elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Brooklyn.

In closing this historical sketch it affords great pleasure to the writer to add this simple sentence: the thirst for Christian knowledge in the Methodist Episcopal Church in America has, notwithstanding its early embarrassments, created the most extensive, thorough, comprehensive, and accurate Christian book establishment in the world.

ART. VII. — PRESENT NECESSITY FOR A RESTATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN BELIEFS.*

THE religious system called Christianity, after the name of its author—who is also its prophet and high-priest—is sometimes more definitely, though less comprehensively, styled *THE FAITH*. Sometimes the two designations are used together as mutually explanatory, as when the Augsburg Confession speaks of “our holy faith and Christian religion.” In thus designating the Christian system by a term whose first sense is simply belief or credence, there is the implication that it is built upon and also embodies certain objective truths—facts and principles—which are of its substance, and through which its character is expressed. These truths are, indeed, in themselves always the same, because they are the manifestations of the unchangeable purposes of the divine wisdom and goodness; but because men’s conceptions of them are mutable, the formularies in which they may be expressed in certain conditions will in other conditions appear quite inadequate, perhaps misleading. And, as a matter of fact, it may be asserted that the terms in which religious beliefs are expressed can never be fixed beyond the need of occasional changes and restatements.

The present age is confessedly a time of change in the forms of Christian thought, and of modifications of doctrinal conceptions. The formularies of doctrine which have come down to us from the past, although they were so precious to those by whom they were once cherished, no longer satisfactorily express the theological conceptions of the best minds of Christendom. We venture the opinion, also, that the changed method of viewing Christian doctrines is better than that which it replaces, being broader, more rational, less artificial, and truer to the teachings of the word of God. And although it has become fashionable in certain circles to speak lightly of theology, and to prefer the sentimental and practical in religion to the speculative and intellectual, it is still very certain that Christianity, as manifested in its human subjects, must be, first of all, a system of truths to be accepted respecting God’s purposes toward men and his methods for working out his designs in

* A paper read before the Cleveland Church Congress, by Daniel Curry, D.D.

and among them. These purposes and his methods for their practical development he has revealed in his word; and now he commends them to our acceptance, both as truths to be intellectually believed and as spiritual manifestations of transforming power to be accepted and experienced.

The changes that are so strongly marked in the religious thought of the age, however, affect only remotely and but slightly the substance of Christian truth, and are confined almost entirely to forms of expression called for by fuller and clearer appreciations of its nature and relations. God's revelations of himself and of his dispensations, though always substantially the same, have been all along becoming fuller and clearer. The opening sentence of the Epistle to the Hebrews indicates the divine method in this work: "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and divers manners, hath in the end of these days spoken to us in his Son." Of the revelation there indicated, no doubt, the Scriptures of the two Testaments include the substance; they also contain all that a Christian needs to know or believe for his soul's profit. There is, however, reason to believe that there has been, and will continue to be, a steady advance in the mind and thoughts of the Church toward clearer, broader, and more adequate conceptions of what is declared in the Bible. Here, certainly, the theory of evolution has a manifest basis of fact,—and these things make it necessary that the accepted symbols of Christian belief should be, from time to time, re-examined, and the whole substance of doctrine restated. This duty rests upon the living Church at every stage, as the custodian and interpreter of the divine word.

A very high and sacred office is, by the Head of the Church, assigned to his truth, the belief of which is said to be the condition and effectual agency of sanctification, and of the attainment of eternal life. We are therefore warranted in assuming that a basis of theological opinions, made up of the great fundamental truths and doctrines of the Bible, unmixed with fatal misbeliefs, set forth in plain and comprehensive truths, is necessary to the best interests of the Church, and, to a not inconsiderable extent, to the religious life of the individual. And since religion, as embodied in Church life, is largely communistic, having very large interests common to the whole body, a recog-

nized *consensus* of beliefs is a condition requisite to the unity and the welfare of the whole body.

The Church has never been without its accepted confession of faith. This was, in the beginning, embodied in the living words of the apostles, who taught what they had received from the lips of the Divine Teacher himself. Soon after the times of the apostles, men began to formulate the lessons taught them by their inspired instructors, very briefly in most cases, and in only fragmentary summaries. Of this kind, the recently rediscovered "Didache" is a specimen, and the so-called "Apostles' Creed" is a later and fuller and more nearly complete summary of doctrines. A little later, under the united influences of freer thinking and the ever-increasing remoteness of the authority of the apostles, came the age of heresies, which in turn necessitated more definite and comprehensive statements of Christian doctrines, so bringing in an era of creed-making, with the development in definite symbols of the principal doctrines of the Church. The thousand years of the enslavement of Christian thought—from the fifth to the fifteenth century—though but little agitated by heretical manifestations, nevertheless had its time of earnest inquiry, at each of which it usually happened that some great point of Christian doctrine would be placed in a focal light and subjected to earnest scrutiny; and in most cases these were productive of profitable results. Church history presents the names of certain great leaders of the thinking of Christendom, which stand out like mountain peaks in a landscape, each of whom impressed his own mental and spiritual image upon the living forms of Christian thought. At our distance their views may appear fragmentary and unsymmetrical, and their arguments in some cases unsatisfactory; but they were—each in his place—the men for their times, and by their labors they contributed liberally to the stores of corrected doctrinal ideas—though often one-sided and over-philosophical.

Protestantism set out with a creed of positive doctrines, including the best parts of the traditional orthodoxy, but with a large share of the "convenient indefiniteness" recommended by Melancthon, and not well guarded against possible and dangerous implications. It included the Athanasian doctrine of the person of Christ, which carried with it that of the

Trinity, but left the subject open to the implication of tritheism, and of conditioning the Godhead. It accepted the Augustinian conception of sin, without guarding it against the fatalistic suggestions of that system. The declaration recently made by a venerable ex-professor of theology, that "Augustine paganized Christianity," may be taken as an exaggerated statement of a pregnant truth. It also embodied in its creed Anselm's soteriology, but failed to guard it against its liability to make the Atonement appear as simply a commercial transaction, so necessitating either limited atonement or else universal salvation. And even its own central and distinctive doctrine of justification by faith was not sufficiently guarded against its liability to become constructively Antinomian. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that the years succeeding the Reformation constituted an era of earnest polemical discussions, with varying schools of doctrine, extending all the way from Lutheran consubstantiation and Anglican high-churchism downward to Zwinglian laxity and Anabaptist fanaticism. The creed and confessions of which the times became so fruitful were nevertheless the purposed remedies provided by the wisest and best men of the age for the maladies from which Protestantism was suffering.

The student of Church history is well aware that large and influential portions of the Churches of the Reformation were but partially emancipated from the traditions of Romanism, especially in respect to the character and design of the sacraments, the nature of the Church, and its power of "binding and loosing," and as to the right of personal free thought in all religious matters. It is also known that at the present time not a few who bear the name of Protestants are still held in that form of bondage. But with all such we are not now directly concerned; the "Christian beliefs" of whose "restatement" we are speaking, do not include that form of persnasion. They who adhere to such views, with logical propriety, hesitate to call themselves Protestants, or else they claim that from an early date most of the Reformed Churches very far transcended the boundaries of legitimate Protestantism. The typical Protestant of our times, however, discards all magical and mystical efficacy of the sacraments; denies all priestly functions to the Christian ministry; and looks upon the visible

Church of Christ as only a "congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments duly administered." Their doctrinal differences with their Romanizing opponents are defined, with all needed fullness, in the works of the early Reformers, and there is no need that they should be restated at the present time. The questions with which we are concerned lie in quite another direction.

The high place given to the written word by the leaders of the Reformation did not incline them to make either a god or a pope of the Bible; but instead, they claimed for every man the right to read and interpret it with proper intellectual and spiritual freedom. Luther himself boldly reconstructed the canon, and excluded some of the books because of what they contained; and the more reverent and conservative English Reformers spoke of the Bible, not as itself the divine word, but rather as containing "God's true word;" and they were much more careful to guard against supplementing its lessons by any thing of merely human authority than to claim for it any mystical inspiration. And all their intelligent followers in our day readily submit the written word to the findings of a reverent criticism and the decisions of rational common sense. The teachings of science and the results of critical inquiry, and, most of all, the leadings of men's religious intuitions, are, each in its way, and all unitedly, bringing the conceptions of evangelical Christendom respecting the Bible back to those of the early Reformers. There is no need for us, therefore, to rewrite the revived convictions of the Church on the subject, but only to return to the teachings of the fathers of the Reformation, and, with our better facilities, following their methods, to seek to know what is indeed written in the book.

The "Christian beliefs," the needed "restatements" of which we are now called to consider, are those not of all Christendom, but rather of a school of thought which has become very widely intrenched in the Christian consciousness of the times. The Eastern Church has preserved, without any considerable modifications, the orthodoxy of the ante-Nicene fathers. The Western Church, on the contrary, continued to take on new forms of thought, until its course was arrested by the growing authority of the hierarchy, when the discipline of Jerome, the ecclesiasticism of Cyprian, and the anthropology of Augustine

became fixed and guarded as the only allowable forms of belief. The Reformation was essentially a revolt against the spiritual tyranny of the Western Church, and the assertion of the rights of free thought in all matters of religion; but it began its course with the tacit acceptance of most of the principal doctrines of Roman Catholicism.

With a set of doctrines at once so incomplete in their conceptions and so unguarded in their statement, there was large room for varying interpretations, and with the conceded right of free thinking and of private judgment as to the sense of the written word—its recognized and only sufficient rule of faith and practice—Protestantism assumed from the beginning a position of “unstable equilibrium,” by reason of which future modifications of its doctrinal statements were assured, and stability as to the details of beliefs made impossible, except by occasional re-examinations and the elimination of every thing not essential to the Christian system, with the rejection of all philosophical theories of doctrine. This last cautionary provision, however, was largely neglected.

By virtue of their newly acquired freedom of thought the more advanced of the Reformers, not content with finding out whatever the Bible explicitly declares, proceeded further to deduce still other points of doctrine as logical implications and inferences. Because the Bible teaches the federal relations of Adam to his posterity, through which every man partakes of the evil consequences of the transgression of his progenitor, it was inferred that all men are for that offense condemned to eternal death; and because salvation is wholly through grace in Christ, it was inferred that men are powerless alike to help or hinder its completed results. The doctrine of justification by faith is inseparably connected with that of the reality and the intense turpitude of sin in man—entailing guilt and helplessness; and over against this the Scriptures set the work of Christ in saving men; and from this would come quite naturally the inference, that as all died in Adam, so are all made alive in Christ. But since it is certain that some are not so saved, it was further inferred that only a part of the human race are redeemed by Christ. Luther refused to follow out his own doctrinal postulates to their possible, but not necessary, logical implications, and so he left his theological system the-

oretically incomplete ; and some of those who were nearest to him earnestly repudiated the inferences made by others. But Calvin, with less of sentiment than of hard logic, detected the possible implications, and accepted the fearful conclusion, and, rising to a lofty and sublime conception of the Divine Sovereignty, he contemplated the processes of the events of time as simply a predestinated order, in which all that occurs is but the unfolding of God's eternal decrees. This system has the advantage of unity and completeness, and, after granting its premises, its logical self-consistency is unassailable. But even its chief promulgator pronounced it "horrible," and the Christian consciousness of the whole Church rejects it.

It is the fashion of the times to denounce Calvinism, and especially so in places where it was formerly held in the highest honor. It has almost entirely disappeared from the pulpit and from popular religious literature. It is still to be found in theological treatises, but usually marred and emasculated, and perhaps it may be discussed and presented with variations in some of our schools of theology. But it is evidently a vanishing quantity in the Christian beliefs of our times ; for any doctrine, whether false or true, that ceases to be heard from the pulpit will certainly fade out of the minds of the people in the course of one or two generations. But before that process shall be completed it may be well to pause and consider what has been the history, and what is the record, of the Calvinistic type of Protestantism.

It was the Reformed Churches of the Continent, as contradistinguished from the Lutheran, that carried forward the Reformation to a stage of completeness that made both its suppression and its reconciliation with Rome impossible, even when Luther and some of his associates appeared to be more than half inclined to accept terms of accommodation. It was the progressive element among the English Reformers which compelled the entire separation from Rome, and wrought into the substance of the Church of England those living evangelical doctrines which still stand as a breakwater against the incoming of the flood-tide of Romanism, and which also act as a life-giving, spiritual energy. It was the source of power which in Scotland nourished successive generations of martyrs and heroes whose spirits, passing beyond the Border, achieved the

liberties of England, and delivered the land from civil and ecclesiastical despotism. Its history in this country has been equally honorable. The Presbyterian, the Congregational, the Reformed (German and Dutch), and the Baptist Churches have together constituted a large and very wholesome contingent of the evangelical forces of the American Church. These facts would seem to indicate that in the doctrinal system held in common by all these bodies are found the vital principles of spiritual and aggressive Christianity. And now that the specific and distinctive features of Calvinism are manifestly fading away from the thoughts of the evangelical Churches, it may not be an uncalled-for service to raise the note of warning, lest in casting off the non-scriptural elements of the system some of its precious Christian truths may also be discarded, and so the wheat suffer in the removal of the tares. The changes have, no doubt, come about by a regular and not violent course of natural selection; and, as usual in such transformations, the changes are, no doubt, for the better.

The implication of our theme, namely, that there is a necessity for a "restatement of the Christian beliefs"—applies especially to the doctrines of sin and salvation, as taught in the formularies of the Calvinistic Churches. No such necessity is felt by the Roman Catholics, nor by the Anglicans (on either side of the ocean), nor by the Lutherans, nor by the Methodists—though all of these bodies are somewhat affected by the movements about them. But that there have been among the former class very wide changes in doctrinal expression, and equally marked replacements in doctrinal conceptions, is everywhere manifest; nor is that fact at all an occasion of reproach to those among whom these things have occurred. But this unloosing of the bonds of prescriptive authority leaves the theological belongings of a large body of advanced Christian thinkers in an unformulated, not to say chaotic, condition; and as theological convictions naturally tend to assume a systematic order, these now unsettled opinions will certainly very soon become organized. Nor can there be any doubt in respect to the point toward which opinions are tending. Perhaps it may be said that the nucleus about which the "Christian beliefs" of the near future will crystallize is already ascertained and pretty closely defined. It may be further presumed, that

when so organized the new creed will not be the same in all things with any of the older and historical systems of faith.

It will accept the Apostles' Creed, with historic emendations and independent interpretations. It will rehearse the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, but as assenting to their substance rather than to their form of words. It will be Augustinian just as far as Augustine is Pauline, with even Paul's statements elucidated and guarded by the wholesome lessons of Peter, and James, and John.

The body of divinity that shall respond to the requirements of our age will be neither Calvinistic nor Pelagian; but it will embody the distinctive elements of both those systems. It will assert and emphasize the spiritual doctrines of grace; and it will also insist upon man's free agency effectually conditioning personal salvation. If these two seem to be logically incompatible, so much the worse for the logic. It will also earnestly hold to and emphasize the doctrine of the Atonement, the expiation of man's guilt by the shedding of the blood of the Son of God; but it will enunciate no theory or philosophic scheme by which to expound the mystery of redemption—the substitution of the innocent for the guilty in suffering—nor attempt accurately to define

“How guiltless blood for guilty man was shed.”

It will declare the sovereignty of the grace that brings salvation, and couple with it man's free agency in accepting and using that grace, without attempting to explain how these two things can be reconciled. It will insist upon the very wholesome and comforting doctrine “that we are justified by faith alone,” and “without the deeds of the law,” and it will not fail to emphasize the truth that the faith which justifies also works by love and purifies the heart. It will teach that the life of the believer subsists by virtue of his mystical union with Christ—*itself* Christ in him—and is perpetuated by his own ever-active faith. It will glorify the Father's love manifested in the gift of his Son, and, while not forgetful of his exalted majesty, will especially delight to speak of him as the God and Father of all men. It will glorify Christ, the Son of the Father, but will especially emphasize his human sympathies and delight in his condescending self-devotion in our behalf,

constrained thereto by sovereign love. It will, more than ever before has been the case, bring the Holy Spirit into conspicuous recognition as the giver and sustainer of the life of God in the soul, the teacher and guide, the sanctifier, and the God of all consolation. These are not new, or hitherto unrecognized, doctrines, but instead they have all along been in the hearts and on the lips of God's people. The atmosphere of the Christian world is full of them. They have to a large extent replaced the dogmatizings of the schools in the Christian literature of the age, and in the teachings of the pulpit, and best of all in Christian communion. None of the creeds of Christendom adequately express these things, while in proportion to the exactness and fullness of these symbols they cumber the spirit and circumscribe the soul's vision of faith.

But ours is not an age of creed-making. It is clearly impossible at this time to produce new formularies of doctrine, like the Augsburg Confession, or that of Dort or Westminster. The respect demanded for free thought in the individual precludes the possibility that any one shall be required to shape his conceptions of religious truth according to any detailed scheme formed to his hand by some council or synod, and especially do the creeds of past centuries fail to answer to present demands. Nor is this freedom of thinking either the creature or the cause of any want of theological opinions. It has been demonstrated that creeds and confessions can neither ward off heresies nor shape the dogmatic conceptions of those who nominally accept them; and also, that theological opinions are stable in proportion as they are free.

The only practically available system of doctrines in any ecclesiastical body is and must be its unformulated *consensus*; the teachings of its pulpits and Sunday-schools and families, of which its unofficial utterances, through the press or by other means, become its effective, but not arbitrarily authoritative, statements and expositions. Probably no ecclesiastical body in the land would account a candidate for its ministry disqualified by reason of his unwillingness to accept, in their primary implications, certain portions of almost any one of the historical creeds of Protestantism; and it is quite certain that a rigid enforcement of such an acceptance would make sad havoc among the best taught and most conscientious ministers

of nearly all of the Churches. The numerically largest Protestant denomination in this country has no closely defined formulary of doctrines, nor any set of documents which are assumed to embody all its articles of faith, so that so much and no more must be accepted as true. And yet it may be asserted that no other body is less affected by the erratic thinking of its ministers and its members, and no others are better able to detect dangerous aberrations and to visit with the requisite corrections any who may err from the truth. The restatement, then, of Christian beliefs called for in our times is a declaration of independence of the enslaving formularies of former times—most of which were designed to meet certain local and temporary exigencies—and a return to the simpler forms of biblical teachings as interpreted by the concurrent Christian consciousness. Still another department of the Christian belief of our age is especially in an unsettled and unsatisfactory state—but of that we can now speak only very briefly and generally. It is that of Eschatology, sometimes called “The Doctrine of the Last Things.” The historical creeds are all of them materialistic, often grossly so, in their forms of language and manifest conceptions respecting the future life. The popular notions respecting the resurrection of the dead and the character of “the life everlasting,” which those creeds manifestly teach, have ceased to command the assent of the great body of intelligent believers. The Second Advent, and the Millennium, and the Reign of Christ on the earth in human form, are among the materialistic conditions permeating the traditional religious thought of Protestant Christendom; but very few sober and well taught Christian scholars can accept these things unless so modified as to change their identity. And yet these things are closely implicated with the primary principles of the current religious anthropology, and with the popular conception of the nature of the kingdom of Christ, present and prospective, and consequently with the hopes of the Gospel in respect to both the individual and the Church. It is conceded by our ablest Christian scholars that our Eschatology needs to be restated, because it now fails to voice the Christian consciousness of the age. But who shall undertake the work, and what shall be the form and contents of the reconstructed faith of the Church concerning these things. Evangelical Christendom waits the outcome.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

UNIFICATION OF METHODISM.

It is among the infelicities of social life that good neighborhood among families of diverse social ranks, and still more so when the differences are religious or racial, is liable to tend toward matrimonial affinities. The parent who, though socially of a higher grade, would nevertheless teach his children to avoid all pretenses of superiority, knows very well that in so doing he incurs the danger of undesirable matrimonial alliance in his family, and therefore he finds it necessary to observe and enforce some degree of exclusiveness in the social relations of his children. If, however, for any reason the formation of such alliances is quite out of the question, then the intercourse of the parties may be correspondingly freer. Like considerations will apply to the relations of churches of diverse orders and of different denominations, with which Christian recognition is often forced forward, and made to suggest the inquiry why the two bodies should not become one. There seems to be in some minds a lack of ability to discriminate between the appreciation of the unity of the Christian life among fellow-believers of different names and the unity of ecclesiastical organization; and with not a few the external unity seems to be more fully emphasized than the internal and spiritual. Among the things to be learned in this our age of broadened Christian charity is, that true liberality is best shown by the recognition of excellences that are not now, nor likely to become, an integral part of one's own ecclesiastical organism, and that Christian unity need not to be shut in by denominational delimitations. This remark, which applies primarily to all Christian bodies, we would also apply with equal emphasis to the diverse organisms among which the Methodism of our age and country is divided.

Methodist "fraternity" has become a conspicuous fact, so far as its ostensible manifestations go, within the past few years. There have been exchanges of delegations till the affair has largely broken down under the burden of its physical conditions, and conference platforms have overflowed with honeyed words of brotherhood which it was well known expressed but half of the truth; and "ecumenicals" and "centennials" have celebrated the unity of Methodism, while each division, as was fitting, stood firmly, and often jealously, by its own standards. And all this is well enough, provided the differences that separate these various bodies are duly recognized and respected; for we hold that no body of Christians should abandon its own organization until satisfied that its distinctive features are relatively unimportant. At the same time, because the spirit of Christ should be recognized, wherever found, as of vastly greater value than any ecclesiastical system, so genuine Christian

unity will readily overstep, and indeed ignore, the fences that shut in our denominational preserves. The family has its own unity, which should be sacredly protected; but devotion to one's family is altogether compatible with the most earnest patriotism and the broadest philanthropy.

In the proceedings referred to there have been only slight references to the organic union of some of the bodies thus brought together; but in the "aside" utterances the subject has been not unfrequently suggested—less often of late, however, than a few years earlier. These suggestions have assumed, rather than asserted—and no attempts have been made to prove it—that the separated existence of these various bodies is a very great evil that ought to be speedily remedied; perhaps, indeed, a great *sin*, unless quickly repented of and given up, and atoned for by organic unification. It is tacitly claimed that any possible divisions into separate bodies of the Christians of any locality is somehow wrong, and ought not to be, which, as a proposition for an ideally perfect Christian community, may be correct. But such ideal communities are not very numerous; and the actual ordering of things must be adapted to the existing imperfections of men individually, and of society in its ruling characteristics. Nor are the causes of the separate existence of the various Christian bodies existing among us to be found in the perverse self-will of those who maintain them. Even in Methodism each dissentient body had what seemed to be a sufficient justification for the dissatisfaction which led at length to separation. It is also worthy of notice that the things complained of in the parent body, and which became at length the occasion of disruption, have since, in many cases, been largely mitigated or entirely removed. The Protestant Methodist Church grew out of the attempt of certain persons, both ministers and laymen, to liberalize the government, both legislative and administrative, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Their methods may have been in some cases disorderly and factious, and yet we suspect that just such proceedings, if taken at this time, would not be treated with the same severity; and greater constitutional modifications and administrative mitigations than were then asked for have since been granted. But while the original causes of complaint have been removed, the body that grew up by reason of them has come to have an entity and status of its own, of whose perpetuation those to whom it has descended are the custodians and the competent and only rightful judges. When they may conclude that the mission of their separation is sufficiently accomplished they are at liberty to seek to be united with the older and more numerous organization. But of that matter they only are to be the judges. Their right to be is not to be challenged by any others.

Nearly the same considerations will apply to those who, soon after 1840, chiefly in the Eastern States, seceded from the parent body and formed the "Wesleyan Methodist Church of America." They were wholly dissatisfied with the attitude of the Church toward slavery, as they had good cause to be; and they found also, that, under the rulings of the Bishops, the rights of the Annual Conferences as free synods were completely set aside; and despairing of their cause within the Church, they withdrew

and set up an independent body, which still maintains a feeble and moribund existence. That movement, no doubt, had a purpose, though the wisdom of its course was not approved by many who fully sympathized with those who engaged in it; and as a protest against not only the dominant *quasi* pro-slaveryism of the Church, but equally so against the unwarrantable stretching of episcopal authority over the Annual Conferences, it no doubt effected very great and valuable results. The General Conference of 1844 was held in the presence of that secession, then rapidly coming to threatening proportions, and standing as a menace over the entire Methodism of the Eastern and Middle States. The vote in the case of Bishop Andrew applied equally to the question of the Church's relations to slavery and that of the character, and consequently the power, of the episcopacy, which together constituted the grievance which had brought about the secession, and both of which suffered alike in that vote. It is said that when the vote in the case of Bishop Andrew was taken, in the Greene Street Church in New York, Orange Scott was sitting in the gallery, an intensely interested observer of the proceedings; and when the result was reached, he remarked to a friend, "That will make an end of our organization." But for the dread inspired by the secession of which Scott was the recognized leader, no such vote as that could have been reached; but this casting down of the two pillars of pro-slaveryism and prelacy in Methodism, as with those which Samson threw down in the temple of Dagon, at once saved the Church and destroyed its deliverer. Both these results might, perhaps, have been reached by other means, and at less disastrous costs, but for the good actually accomplished let the credit be awarded as it was deserved.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America, by virtue of its influence, seconding the tendency of public sentiment in all of the Methodist Episcopal Church after the separation of the Southern Conferences, caused the latter body to advance very far toward the ground held by the former, and so robbed it of its distinctive occupation as a protesting body, and deprived it of its sole claim to a continued existence. It has accordingly been almost entirely re-absorbed, without the formality of an organic unification.

Respecting another separated body of Methodists, we cannot better express our present convictions than in language which we wrote and published twenty-one years ago:

The various "African" Methodist Churches have grown out of the joint action of the white Methodists' determination to allow to their colored brethren nothing approaching to freedom in the Church, and the Negro's determination not to occupy the lower position assigned him. Perhaps, too, there was not wanting among the colored people a desire to be first in their own little spheres rather than to receive even their full share of privileges among those of another and relatively more elevated class; and so the whites got rid of a perplexity and a burden, and the Negroes gained ecclesiastical freedom and eligibility to place, with the loss of almost every other religious and intellectual advantage. The course taken in these things is doubtless a very natural one; but that fact is but a poor apology for its permission by those whose business it is to counterwork the evil tendencies of what is *natural* to fallen humanity.

It has long been our settled conviction that the separation of the colored Methodists of the free States from the Methodist Episcopal Church has been a serious and unmixed evil to both parties. To the colored people it has been the privation of the aid, both pecuniary and intellectual, which would have accrued to them from their union with the whites; and to the whites it has been the serious disadvantage of the loss of ready access to the "poor among us," in which the Church finds her richest opportunities to enrich herself by benefiting others. With the colored Methodists of the free States in cherished communion with her, our Church would never have lapsed into the strange and reprehensible position of a quarter of a century ago, which we now look back upon with mingled emotions of surprise and shame. In Church connection with the whites those colored Methodists would not have remained at the low level of intelligence and efficiency in which we now see them. In placing the two races in the same localities, the divine purpose that they should be united in Church fellowship is sufficiently indicated. But what God had joined together men put asunder; and the result of the sad divorce has of course been only evil to both parties.—*The Christian Advocate*, July 20, 1865.

But the work of separation was effected, and nobody can blame the free blacks for leaving associations in which they received scant welcome. And now that they are separated, it is for themselves alone to settle the conditions of their return to the "mother Church," which owes them, at least, a parent's kindness.

There are two ecclesiastical bodies in this country which, without the family name of Methodists, nor ecclesiastically derived from any Methodist ancestry, are still Methodists in fact, by virtue of both the character of their religious life and their methods of ecclesiastical organization and of Christian activity—the "Evangelical Association," whose head-quarters are Cleveland, O., and of which Albright was the originator, and after whose name the body is sometimes called, and the "United Brethren in Christ," with head-quarters at Dayton, the ecclesiastical progeny of Otterbein and Boehm. Between both of these and ourselves there has been some recognition of kinship, both official and also informal; and perhaps there has been some little coquetting on both sides, and with both of these, in respect to union. They are both doing a good work, and effecting valuable results by agencies that we have largely ceased to use, and among peoples to whom our access is not so ready as is theirs. It has therefore seemed to us that in their own place they are doing good work for the Master, and therefore that it may be for the best that they abide apart. But it is found that, living among our churches, they are continually subject to being depleted by the greater attractions of the larger and more advanced body, and both their abler ministers and many of their well-to-do families are drawn into our communion. This form of unification may do well enough for the gaining party, but it is death to the body out of which the life-blood is thus drawn. But it is not for us to suggest what course should be pursued. The records of these bodies are highly honorable, and they are doing a good work. Respecting their future we have nothing to predict. If, however, any steps shall be taken looking to a closer affiliation with the Methodist Episcopal Church, they and not we must take the initiative.

Respecting the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and our relations to

it, and the desirableness of union with it, some of our people seem to feel an earnest and never-ceasing concern. A great deal is heard from our side about "organic union," and of the great *shame* and *sin* of separation, but very little from theirs that points in that direction. Ever since the close of the war there has been an incessant process of wooing in behalf of the Church "North," which has been about as steadily repelled by the other party. A long time ago, at a time the Southern Bishops were holding a meeting at St. Louis, two of our Bishops sought them out unasked, and proposed some kind of a negotiation with them; but when inquired of in respect to their errand and their authority, they had nothing to offer, and so were formally rather than politely "bowed out." Some years later, a commission having been appointed by the General Conference of 1868 to receive and consider any proposition that might be made to them respecting union by certain designated ecclesiastical bodies—to which list the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was added at the last moment—although it had no authority to make proposals, but only to receive and consider them when made by some other body, yet two members of that commission (one then a Bishop, and the other since made one) in 1870 hied away to the Southern General Conference at Memphis, and were politely reminded that said commissioners had power only to consider propositions made to them, and were further assured that the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had nothing to submit on that subject. They were told the commission of which they were a part—

Cannot, in our judgment, without great violence in construing the language of said resolution, be reported as having been constituted by that General Conference a commission to make proposals of union to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Moreover, that if this distinguished commission were fully clothed with authority to treat with us for union, it is the judgment of this Conference that the true interests of the Church of Christ require and demand the maintenance of our separate distinct organizations.

And after this, with expressions in regular diplomatic style of distinguished *personal* considerations, and with a manifest touch of sarcasm, they were permitted to depart in peace.

At the General Conference of 1872, held in Brooklyn, the subject of our relations with the Southern Church was brought into notice by "sundry petitions, memorials, and resolutions," all of which were referred to the "Committee on the State of the Church," which body in due time reported in substance—and their report was adopted—that the Methodist Episcopal Church having entered the parts of the country in which the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has most of its members and churches, and having there received many members and established numerous local churches and all proper ecclesiastical institutions, it is neither at liberty nor disposed to abandon that part of its work; but because it is deemed very desirable that the two Methodisms should co-exist in harmony, and in order that their good fellowship should be the more clearly indicated, it was declared that—

To place ourselves in the truly fraternal relations toward our Southern brethren which the sentiments of our people demand, and to prepare the way for the opening of formal fraternity with them, be it hereby

Resolved, That this General Conference will appoint a delegation, consisting of two ministers and one layman, to convey our fraternal greetings to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at its next ensuing session.

In the debates on this occasion the action of the General Conference of 1848 was justified, and every possible modification of it definitely refused, and also distinct notice was given that there existed no purpose on our part of abandoning our work in the Southern States.

The delegation so provided for accordingly appeared at the General Conference of the Southern Church in 1874, at Louisville, but somehow their credentials were so far defective that they contained nothing of the declaration of our purpose to continue in the South, which had been made as a condition preliminary to the action providing for a fraternal delegation. The omission was unfortunate, as it might seem to imply a willingness on the part of somebody to ignore the attitude of those who had ordered the delegation toward those to whom they were accredited, and the omission and its apparent intention were noticed and commented upon by one of the Southern delegates, since chosen and ordained a Bishop. But our delegates were at length received on their credentials, their addresses heard, and so fraternal relations between the "two Methodisms" were formally inaugurated.

It is noteworthy that in every instance the overtures in favor of closer relations between the two bodies have come from our side, and that while the proposals in favor of "fraternity" have been entertained by our Southern brethren, all such concessions have been accompanied with the declaration that no proposition in favor of "organic union" could be entertained. All the wooing and coquetting has been made from the Northern side, but not by any properly official action, although certain of our "officials" have occasionally become a little superserviceable on that line.

In these attempted negotiations the South appears usually to have had the better side of the game, the reasons for which are quite obvious, and they are such as to cast no discredit upon the winning party. They evidently see, what some among us appear to be unwilling to recognize, that there are such considerable and deep-seated differences between the two bodies, in their substance and spirit, that their incorporation into a single organization would result only in discord and confusion. The rupture in 1844-45 was the result of causes that lay deeper than the accidents of civil institutions or ecclesiastical theories. "They went out from us because they were not of us," nor need we decide whose was the fault, nor whether it may not have been for the better rather than the worse that there was a separation between inharmonious elements. Slavery may have been the occasion which precipitated the disruption; but the originating cause lay deeper, in the differences of mental habits and in the diverse civilizations of the people of the two regions. And these

causes survive the extinction of slavery as a legalized institution, and therefore the influences that precipitated the separation still live and operate to make its continuance a necessity. There come times "in the course of human events," when separations are needed for the peace and prosperity of both sides. So for the sake of peace Abraham and Lot departed from each other; and so in Methodism, for the better prosecution of its mission, the American scion separated from the parent stock beyond the sea; and later the Canadian branch was cut off from the American trunk; and later still the south side of American Methodism was separated into a distinct ecclesiastical organization. If it is said that man may not put asunder what God has joined together, so also we learn that the divine wisdom has fixed the bounds of the habitations of the nations, and the latter process is as really of God, and as profitable to men, as the former, and each is best in its time and place. We see therefore no good reason for desiring the reuniting of the two great divisions of American Methodism, believing still, as was said in the Report of 1872, that "there is abundant room for both us and them, and God may use both of these Churches for the promotion of his cause." And though there will necessarily be occasional cases of friction where the two touch upon each other, these need not be either frequent nor greatly disastrous; and in any case they would be incomparably less troublesome than the deeper internal disorders sure to arise from the commingling of uncongenial elements in the same body.

The magnitude to which the Methodist Episcopal Church has grown, with its promise of almost unlimited increase in the near future, should suggest to its ruling minds the need for devising and executing measures to guard against the dangers of such an overgrowth. There is much greater call for *distribution* of governmental administration than of *concentration* and *centralization*. Christian freedom and ecclesiastical "home rule" are conditions requisite to evangelistic effectiveness. We want no Ecumenical Methodism.

While not doubting that the continued maintenance of some of our minor denominations is neither called for nor susceptible of justification, we are still very well satisfied that a multiplicity of "sects" is by no means an unmixed evil. Their existence is not only not incompatible with Christian union, but is rather promotive of it, on the same principle that small proprietors favor good neighborhood. Local and traditional preferences and personal tastes all enter largely into church life, and their gratification tends to liberty, which is inferior only to the influences of the word and the Spirit as a condition of Christian development. The waste of power caused by too much distribution of the religious forces in small denominational sections is largely compensated for by the absence of internal disorders, and by the activities necessarily awakened, and therefore, while representing the most numerous religious body in the land, we are quite willing, with the generosity of Uncle Toby, to say to even the least of the sisterhood of the Churches, "The world is wide enough for all of us."

CHRISTIANITY'S NEXT PROBLEM.

[SECOND PAPER.]

There are special reasons, aside from its moral and religious considerations, which give importance to the social and industrial problem of the present time. Great changes have occurred within two generations in the relations of capital and labor as instruments of production, and in the relative importance of the two classes represented by them.* There has never been such opportunity as this century affords for the legitimate accumulation of property. There has never before been such security for the most unlimited fortunes, whether acquired by productive industry, commerce, or speculation. There has never been greater temptation to greed of gain, by grasping vast landed estates, the control of the highways of commerce, or the lotteries of mining and speculation. There has never been a time, certainly in modern history, when wealth could exert greater influence upon government. A thoughtful merchant in one of our large cities, writing on this subject, suggests the resemblance of this age in America to that of the Roman Cæsars, as described by Froude, when

the offices were confined, in fact, to those who had the longest purses or the most ready use of the tongue on the popular platform. Distinctions of birth had been exchanged for distinctions of wealth. The struggles between plebeian and patrician for equality of privilege were over, and a new division had been formed between the party of property and a party who desired a change in the structure of society.—*Thurber, in Homiletic Monthly*, April, 1884, p. 412.

The sudden and vast increase of private fortunes in this country within the last half-century—since 1850, in fact—is one of the most remarkable facts of history. Forty years ago the millionaires of America could be counted on a man's fingers. Then a man worth a hundred thousand dollars was very rich. Now a hundred thousand is but the moderate beginning of a fortune. With this increase of individual wealth are two or three other facts which serve at once to increase accumulation and to multiply the power of money. One of these is, that our legislators are more generally rich men, and are chosen because they are rich. The ways of politics are such now that it is coming to be felt that a poor man can neither afford to be a candidate for Congress, nor (if honest) to be a member if elected. On the other hand, political parties seek for rich men as candidates for office, and the millionaire seeks or buys office as a badge of nobility, or a means of protecting or advancing his financial interests. Another fact, partly the outgrowth of the first, is, that legislation so jealously guards property, giving it better protection than is afforded to virtue or human life. The gains of the rum-seller are better cared for than the morality of the drinker—the profits of the coal company more than the safety of the miner.

Still another fact is, the facilities which legislation affords for the amassing of wealth. The whole drift of legislation is to aid in the accumulation of large fortunes rather than the equalization of property. So, also, it

favors the massing of many fortunes under one control. The great Mogul of this country to-day is the CORPORATION. Itself an innocent institution, and if legitimately used profitable to society, it becomes in the hands of unscrupulous managers the instrument of oppression and robbery. By it a few men control the trans-continental highways of traffic, as once Algerine pirates controlled the commerce of the Mediterranean. By it the various manufactures of the country are massed and governed. By it useful inventions become at once monopolies and means of extortion and accumulation. Steam and electricity are slaves of Cæsus. The little telephone instrument, which costs three or four dollars, pays to capital an annual rental of thirty to one hundred dollars.

As the result of inventions and the application of natural forces not only are manufactures vastly increased and improved, but it comes about that the single laborer can no longer be the independent manufacturer; much less can the same mechanic, however skilled, carry on by himself a series of successive operations. Once the farmer's wife could take the wool from the fleece and transform it into the gown for her daughter. Not unfrequently the tanner could take the hide from the slaughter and put it through all the successive processes till it was fashioned into a finished boot. Now it takes scores of men and women, and thousands of dollars and untold mechanical and chemical forces, with intricate machinery, to make a yard of cloth or a single shoe. And by this change labor has become a subordinate factor in the process. Especially has skilled labor lost its relative importance, since so much of manufacture requires not mechanical skill and dexterity, but merely the watching and feeding of self-acting machines. In effect, what was and could be only the possession and property of the mechanic by years of practice has now become through inventions and mechanical forces the instrument of capital. It is estimated that, in the modern system of manufactures, one thousand dollars of capital must be invested for every worker employed. But it is to be remembered that in most employments the single thousand and the one laborer cannot set up business. The operatives must work in gangs, and the capital must be massed.

The methods of trade have changed not less than those of manufactures, and much in the same way. Even retailing is now, so to speak, done by wholesale. Immense stocks and stores and combinations have taken the place of retail shops. The milkman of the city is only the delivery clerk for the milk association monopoly, which buys of the farmer and sells to the consumer, dictating the prices to both.

We are not to assume that these changes are wholly bad. They may result in temporary or individual loss or inconvenience, and yet be, when completed, for the general good. They are here presented only as complications of the social-financial problem.

Certain social results from these changes must also be noted, and not least the change in the relation of employer and employed. Once in this country their relation was that of associates and friends. The apprentice lived in his master's family, was the equal of his sons, married his daugh-

ter, and succeeded to his business. The same thing was true in trade. The clerk was apprenticed to the merchant to learn his business, and lived in his family on terms of social equality. He was in most intimate social relations with his employer, and public opinion and law alike made the master responsible for the moral and social standing of his apprentice. Through these the master had means to powerfully influence the habits and character of his employees, and the apprentice was appealed to by strong motives to win the good opinion of his master.

How different are the relations of employer and employed now! The two classes are distinct, and almost wholly ignorant of each other. The owner of the factory knows nothing of the people in his employ, as he knows nothing of their toil or skill. He does not understand their wants nor enter into their sympathies, and the workman hardly feels that the capitalist belongs to his race. The heads of vast mercantile houses do not know their clerks and salesmen, except in a sort of mechanical way, as certain forces or machines for disposing of goods. Cash boys and bobbin-boys are, like money-tills or spinning-jennies, instruments for bringing in money, and the capitalist may discharge the one or throw aside the other with equal indifference to any consideration but gain.

The effect of all this is to separate the capitalist and laborer into two classes, ignorant of, and often hostile to, each other. Capital becomes to labor a heartless tyrant; labor to capital an ignorant, brutal mob. Each feels obliged to combine against the other—capital against the aggressive demands of labor, and labor to force something more from capital. All the more completely are these results brought about when capital is represented by the impersonal corporation, and the workman comes in contact with none but agents and overseers.

This increasing separation of classes, and their consequent mutual ignorance of each other, is an increasing danger to society. The old baronial times and the relations of feudalism had this mitigation, that while each was born into the class in which he lived, and while the lower classes were dependent largely on the lord, he, in turn, was helpless without the labor and martial strength of his people; and more than this, that the retainer and serf, even, were personally known to the chief. They met together in martial and athletic festivals, and at all the great feasts of the lord of the manor the yeoman sat at the table of his lord, though it was "below the salt." These were times when

"opened wide the baron's hall
To vassal, tenant, serf, and all;
Power laid his rod of rule aside,
And Ceremony doffed his pride.
The heir, with roses in his shoes,
That night might village partuer choose;
The lord, underogating, share
The vulgar game of post and pair."

Moreover, there was often, as in the Scottish clans, the bond of kinship between the chief and the lowest clansman, and the pride of blood was in the lowest as well as in the highest. Here in the United States there

are no such mitigations of birth or associations. And, paradoxical as it may seem, the class feeling is embittered by the fact that often the very rich and the very poor began as school-mates and playfellows—the silver-king was a hod-carrier, and the cattle-king a stable boy, and neither has quite outgrown his early tastes and limitations. There is no reason apparent on the surface why one of these school-boys should be a millionaire and another a laborer. This separation of the American people into classes, ignorant of and growingly hostile to each other, is already a source of danger to the order and peace of society, before which capital has more than once had occasion to tremble. It becomes subversive of liberty just so far as the poverty of one class and the immorality of the other makes the ballot a marketable commodity. It is anti-Christian so far as it forgets the second great commandment.

The Christian mastery of wealth must include the mastery of the whole range of business. It must incorporate into the laws of trade that divine statute, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." It must forbid the obtaining of excessive prices by means of false reports or artificial scarcity, as well as by false representations of quality or quantity. Short weight, poor material, corners in the market, and artificial panics are, according to the Christian standard, forms of robbery. It does not change the principle that the mechanic, who complains of oppression in his wages, is just as eager to buy his clothing at prices which mean starvation to the needle-woman, or that the lady who is noted for her Christian charity boasts of her wonderful bargains—goods purchased at less than cost of material. That these methods of unjust gain run through all branches of trade does not affect the Christian principle, though it may show how wide is the field yet to be subdued by Christian cultivation. The purpose to get something for nothing is the unchristian principle permeating alike the stock and wheat gambling, shoddy manufacture, adulteration of foods, and chaffering in trade.

Undoubtedly Christianity must require the exercise of the virtues of industry, frugality, and temperance, but not, as has been too often perversely taught, for the sake of accumulation. It requires that industry be not only productive, but beneficially productive. Society claims the right to say that a man shall not give his labor to injurious industry, such as the burglar's toil, the counterfeiter's skill, the manufacture of certain poisons or explosives, except under rigid supervision. Christianity will forbid any, however profitable, industry, whose product is useless or injurious to man. The manufacture of that which ruins health, dethrones reason, or corrupts morals, is worse than idleness. Trade which involves only the exchange of the valueless or the injurious, can have no Christian justification in the fact that it serves as a means to accumulate wealth in the hands of the trader.*

* The acceptance of this principle removes all foundation for the claim of the liquor interest to legal sanction and protection. The claim of the distiller is, that he is engaged in a great productive industry, employing immense capital and large forces of labor, while the liquor traffic employs large capital and many men in the

The Christian solution of the financial problem must include the wide distribution of property. Undoubtedly the equalization of wealth is for the welfare of the State, promotive alike of political purity, social morality, industry, intelligence, and material comfort. An aristocracy of wealth tends to become a political oligarchy, and the people, without material interest in the welfare of the State, tend to become the tools of demagogues. Under a government of the people, by the people, for the people, legislation must reverse the traditions and practices of the past, and favor the distribution of property rather than its accumulation and transmission in masses from generation to generation. Legislation must emphasize that survival of the earlier communism, and especially emphasize its moral side, that property rights are subordinate to the welfare of the State, and so that personal wealth is less important than the general good. Christianity must go further, and declare that the individual welfare is the important thing, and that the gaining and retaining of wealth is comparatively unimportant. The first effect of Christianity was to dethrone wealth. It did not deny property rights, but it did subordinate those rights to the higher claims of brotherhood. "Neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own," as against the common needs of the Church, "but they had all things common," and they distributed as each had need. Wealth, like other talent of apostle or believer, became an instrument of Christian service. If there have been changes in the condition of society, Christian principles have not changed since Pentecost. Wealth is still subordinate to human need.

The accumulation of wealth, whether regarded as a right, or power, or privilege, must be regulated by the law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The aggregate wealth of society, however vast and however it may be gradually increased by the surplus products of labor or the discovery of new values and new forces, is yet limited. Individual wealth, however small, is a portion of the aggregate wealth of society. In this country the millions of single individuals bear some appreciable proportion to the total wealth of the nation. What one man holds, therefore, whether by inheritance or as the accumulated products of industry, by so much limits the possible possessions of others. If one man inherits one half the wealth of the preceding generation, there remains but one half to be distributed among the rest of society. If a few become possessed of large portions of land, that necessitates a great multitude of landless people. The rapid and large accumulation of wealth by the few, in any community, has its counterpart in a great multitude of people who are simply getting a living. The men with ten or a hundred millions are balanced

various departments of purchase and distribution. Let it rather be stated that it is the employment of capital and labor in the destruction of so much food, and the production of that which, in the aggregate, is worse than useless to mankind; that its fruits are destructive to health, reason, and morals, so that society would be benefited by the idleness of all the laborers and the destruction of all the capital employed in the business.

by tens of thousands in poverty. If one man has accumulated the surplus profits of the labor of a thousand men—that is, the product of their labor above what has been consumed in their support—and thereby made himself a millionaire, he has by that fact made accumulation of surplus impossible for nine hundred and ninety-nine others. If through the avenues of trade the surplus products of a province become the property of one man, then nobody else can acquire wealth from that province. It may be a question whether any man has a Christian right to unlimited inheritance, or whether any man can righteously accumulate millions of dollars in a lifetime. That is to say, it may be doubtful whether a man employing the labor of others has the right to pay so small wages and to reserve to himself so large a share of the products of labor as to accumulate his millions of dollars; or whether, buying in one market and selling in another, he has the right to make profits which will aggregate millions. But there can be no question that the Christian law requires that whatever the man possesses shall be used for the good of humanity. Equally certain is it that this requirement, fairly met, would cut off entirely many of the methods of rapid accumulation of property, and would greatly modify the methods of gain by the employment of productive industry. It would relieve the laborer from oppression, and secure the harmonious co-operation of capital and labor. The law of love would counterbalance the greed of gain, and secure the constant distribution of wealth among the many rather than its accumulation in the hands of the few, and its transmission in great fortunes from generation to generation.

Such application of Christian principle there must be in order to the progress of society. Wealth must not be the measure of worth or of honor. Mammon must not dominate the Church. The way must be opened for righteous legislation and honest execution of the laws; for the benefit of humanity rather than for the feeding of avarice.

D. H. ELA.

THE LABOR TROUBLES AND THE SABBATH LAW.

So many impertinent and nonsensical things have been said and written on the Sunday question, that not a few intelligent people are tired of it and turn away from its study. So, likewise, has the Sabbath Question been so generally discussed from the religious side as to divert attention from its scientific importance. Let us, then, examine briefly the scientific aspects of the case, and the connection of the fundamental law, known from earliest times, with the Labor Question of the present times.

First of all, it must be observed, that if we had no inspired books and no religious teaching in regard to the Sabbath, it is plain that our scientific investigation would lead us to the detection of the fundamental law in the case. Thus it is observed, in regard to the toughest materials which can be manufactured into utensils of civilization, that there is in them the equivalent of a seventh-day law. A rail-car or private carriage, a vehicle made of wood and iron, will last longer in its separate parts and

in their combination provided perfect rest be given them every seventh day. A steam-boiler will do its work longer and better if cooled every seventh day. It is found that more can be got out of an estate descending in a family if its fields be left fallow every seventh year. Now these fields are made up of a soil combining several elements. It does not seem to have been determined whether this requisition for the seventh-day rest be in the elements or in the atoms thereof, or in the combination of the elements into what we call soil. As yet that has eluded scientific investigation; but the fact remains, that acres of soil contain in themselves this virtual sabbatic requisition.

Repeated experiments have shown that the same thing is true of animals. A draft-horse will pull as much on the seventh day as on the first if he have good stabling, good grooming, and good food. The same may be said of his capabilities on the fourteenth day and on the twenty-first day under similar favorable conditions; but in the long run of five years he shows the effect of the neglect of the observance of a law written in every fiber of his body. A railway company using two hundred horses, as near the same age as they can be procured, and running one hundred of them continuously and resting the other hundred each seventh day, will soon begin to discover the difference, and the tables of the broken-down and prematurely superannuated horses will begin to tell their story.

The same holds good in regard to men, whether considered as to their physical labor or their mental exertions. Two lawyers of equal physique and brain power, as nearly as can be determined at the beginning of their course, may go on working; one devoting himself to his profession three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, and the other carefully abstaining on every seventh day from all thought in regard to questions connected with either the theory or the practice of his profession, will not require a score of years to show the difference of the two treatments. Religion does not seem to have any thing to do with it. A clergyman may be a saintly man, as saints are counted, and yet if he do not set apart one day in each week of seven days in which he will persistently abstain from all theologic study and all pastoral work, he will by and by begin to endure the penalties of a violated law. This is one reason why there are so many and such early breakdowns among Christian ministers. There is, perhaps, no body of men so largely Sabbath-breakers as is the Christian ministry. The regulations of society compel other men, in some degree, to abstain from work one day in the seven. The banks and exchanges are closed one day in the seven; so are the courts. There are many other brakes put upon human activities; but the clergyman may begin on Monday morning, and work every day and night of the week, sitting up late on Saturday night to finish his sermon, and then attending to his Sunday, school and preaching, and administering the sacraments, and, perhaps, officiating at a funeral on Sunday, and the next morning commence the same round again for another week. And he may do all this without ever attracting any attention to himself as a Sabbath-breaker. But the law of his physical and mental constitution is all the same. Bodily health, pro-

longed capability to work and to enjoy life, and long life itself, are three things dependent upon having the equivalent of a seventh-day rest. The bishop and the atheist are equally amenable to this law. The time of rest may or may not be employed in religious exercises; but the demand for abstinence on the seventh day from the courses of activity of the other six days is imperative. The observance of this law is indispensable for the enjoyment of the life that now is, whether or not there be any life hereafter.

No law has been more plainly found imbedded in the fibers and nerves of animals, and in the brains of the highest animals, than this Sabbath law. There seems to be none other that has been longer known to the human race. There are intimations of it in the oldest literature extant. There is no ascertaining when it was first known, because in the oldest writings in possession of the race it is assumed as already well known, being at that time presented to human thought in its religious connections, apparently without the slightest suspicion of its having what we are accustomed to consider a scientific foundation, as in these latter days we have discovered it to possess. In the oldest of the sacred books it is utilized for religious purposes. The God of the Hebrews, through the first ministers of his religion, in nationalizing a people on the basis of a theocracy, appointed for them one day in the seven, one year in the seven, and one year at the close of the seven times seven years for certain religious observances, to be connected with certain civil arrangements; and God made these the vertebrated column of the whole anatomy of that theocracy.

It would seem that no religion, published under any sanctions, human or divine, could maintain itself among any people for any considerable series of years which had not in nature the foundation on which to build. The Israelitish system had that foundation. The beats of all the pulses of the universe are in octaves, marking the closes of the series of seven. It is not difficult to see that if a religious man observe this, and then be asked why the God of the Israelites should have promulgated the system he is reported to have done in the old Hebrew books, he would say something like this: All religion is based upon a recognition of God, of God's proprietorship of the universe. The seventh-day law is God's assertion of his ownership of time; that is to say, of human life. The sabbatic year is the assertion of God's ownership in the land. The year of jubilee, in which real estate reverted, debt was canceled, and slaves liberated, is God's assertion of his ownership of every thing which can be considered property. The difference between religion and non-religion would seem to lie in the difference between acknowledging God's universal proprietorship and the claiming of that proprietorship for human beings.

The scientific question whether religion or non-religion is better, may be determined by an investigation of the results on a large scale of an acknowledgment of God's proprietorship in every thing, or in the contrary, practically living upon the supposition that land and time and all the products of industry belong absolutely to the race. Could we have a large territory inhabited only by people who in every thought and act of their lives acknowledge the proprietorship of God, whose religious exercises

perpetually remind them of that truth and kindle in them emotions appropriate to the reception of such a truth—and then could we have another territory of equal size, and equally populated, but by people who thoroughly reject God's proprietorship, and never allow in an individual case any religious service which acknowledges that truth—and could we then compare the result upon the physical, intellectual, moral, and social condition of the two peoples at the close of a sufficiently long season of trial, we should have a very full, clear, and sufficient evidence to settle this question forever. But as things are, we have to take the peoples in which one or the other of these theories dominates. Take, then, a community in which there is a rational observance of the Sabbath law—I do not say of the rabbinical Sabbath, nor of puritanical Sunday regulations, but a rational keeping to what is scientifically provable to be the law in the case—and compare that community with another in which, so far as it ever has been done, the Sabbath idea is, not to say rejected, but simply ignored, we shall begin to have much light on this subject.

We come now to look at the connection of this law with the present labor troubles.

These troubles seem to arise from the strained relations of capital and labor, and they come to a head where large capital and many hands are employed. It is charged upon the part of labor that it is not sufficiently remunerated; it is charged upon the part of capital that it cannot make out of the labor it employs enough to justify an increase of remuneration. Going behind these two statements, we find that ordinarily the trouble bursts out where there is a large amount of capital brought together, and employed by a corporation using a great number of hands to carry on this work. On the side of capital it will be observed that there is usually a violation of the Sabbath law, so far as both the corporation and the laborers are concerned. The corporation does not take pains to rest its men and its machinery one day in every week. Now, according to the Sabbath law, that machinery must deteriorate and those men must do their work badly; so that on both sides the income of a corporation is annually diminished by the neglect to observe a law as fixed as the law of gravitation. A railway whose trains should stop at twelve o'clock some night, and lie still for twenty-four hours, while all its employees are perfectly at rest from their labors, whether in worship or whatever else may be necessary for recuperation, would in the course of the year, no doubt, largely increase its net profits by diminishing its expenses. Then there would be a further increase from the great diminution of injury done to the machinery by accidents. The accidents must be much greater where physical laws are not observed than where they are. Switchmen, brakemen, and engineers working on, seven days in each week, by and by come to such a state of brain, nerve, and muscle as to increase their liability to accidents which destroy property.

Then, too, the corporation injures itself by paying men six days' wages for a week's work, whereas men should always be paid a full week's wages for six days' work, so that the pot may be kept boiling while the men are

observing the law of recuperation. If it be said that this is a Utopian idea, the reply is, that such a statement implies that it is impracticable for rational beings to devise reasonable ways of keeping well-known physical laws. If that be true, then there can be no reform of any kind, and no place for any discussion. But on what ground can it be established that such a thing is impracticable? Suppose it were admitted that the public weal demanded the running of all the cars, on both passenger and freight lines, on a certain railway, day and night continuously, through consecutive years. Even that would not necessarily render the observance of the Sabbath law impracticable. We do let our men off for purposes of sleep. Neglect of sleep tells so quickly disastrously, that we are compelled to listen to the imperative demand; and so men work through a limited portion of the twenty-four hours, and it is called a week's work, whether it be six, eight, ten, or fifteen hours a day. Twenty-four hours make a day, but we never demand twenty-four hours for a day's work, and we should not demand seven days for a week's work. It would be quite practicable to make such relays of men in every department as we do of engines, even if the work of the road, in all its parts, went on continuously; and then each man would be able to observe the Sabbath law.

Moreover, the corporation does itself the injury of deteriorating the quality of all its workmen. If, for the sake of wages needed by wife and child at home, a workman can be induced to go forward, week in and week out, the man's moral sense, as well as his brain power, becomes deteriorated. Laying aside all religion, on any other ground on which the necessity of telling the truth or abstaining from stealing can be placed, on that same ground rests the Sabbath law. If I am the employer of five hundred men, they know that if I induce them, by hope of reward or fear of loss, to work on against the law of their nature in respect to rest, I would, for the same consideration, have them work on in violation of veracity or of right in property. Apart from religious considerations, if there be any obligation on earth it is equal in all these three departments; and if I become party to the violation of the Sabbath law by my employees, I become party to a lessening in them of a high regard for the right of property; if, then, they abstract what belongs to me, I have simply myself taught them to do so. A man cannot long violate the Sabbath law without becoming untruthful and dishonest, any more than a man can injure his brain without injuring his stomach, or *vice versa*.

Now let us turn to the laborer's side. The violation of a law of nature in his person brings on an abnormal sanitary condition, one which ordinarily shows itself in a demand for some artificial stimulant to make up for the lost rest. In vast numbers of cases, intemperance is a natural physical result of a violation of the Sabbath law. Intemperance is costly in three ways. In the first place it causes the laborer to lose a portion of his time, and so reduces his wages. In the second place it causes him to do his work in an inferior manner, and thus lessens his stipulated wages. In the third place, in addition to the prime cost, it involves expenditures not otherwise required. So we see that, from whatever

motive the laborer may set at defiance the Sabbath law, he will find his penalty.

Let us now reverse the picture. Suppose every capitalist, in employing laborers, paid each man seven days' wages for six days' work, so that he should have no disquietude on the seventh day in taking the demanded and absolutely indispensable rest. Suppose he gave repose to all his machinery during a seventh day, and suppose, at the same time, every laborer absolutely abstained from all the usual employments and every other kind of wearing and physical labor, and rested the seventh day; would there not begin immediately to ensue a relaxation of the strained relations of capital and labor? If any dependence is to be placed upon the results of scientific investigation of the laws of labor, such a relaxation *would* take place, at least to such a degree as to make the relations approximately harmonious. There would thus be an immense relief, and thereafter all discussions between the two parties would be less nervous, passionate, and spasmodic, and every question could be examined in a light which would show its relations to the interests of both parties.

It has not been our purpose to make this paper a comprehensive discussion of the labor troubles in all their aspects, but to confine it very strictly to the examination of the relations of capital and labor to one single, settled law of nature and of human society.

CHARLES F. DEEMS.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

FROM THE DARK CONTINENT.—The Apostolic Vicar for Catholic Missions in Soudan has just returned from Assouan, whither he had gone in order to obtain exact information concerning the condition of the priests and nuns who are still captives of the Mahdists. His efforts to see them were unsuccessful, although the mission station in Assouan still maintains pleasant relations with the natives. The followers of the Mahdi were too strong for him. From the territory beyond Dongola no information can be obtained.

The latest tidings from Shoa, in Abyssinia, come to us from Aden through the caravan of a French trader. Under the protection of this escort, two Germans and two Swedish missionaries had reached the coast. Of the Germans, Mayer had been there thirty years, and Greiner, fourteen; but they were expelled at the express command of King John, who will no longer permit missionaries of any faith to remain in his land. King Menelik, of Shoa, would gladly have retained them, but even he was powerless to protect them from expulsion.

With the same French caravan there arrived also a great caravan of seven hundred slaves from Galla Land, which left the usual route between Assab and Obok in order to send these slaves to southern Arabia. The facts thus disclosed concerning the extent of the slave-trade from Soudan are heart-rending, and there is now no doubt that in these Negro

lands, formerly under the supervision of the Egyptian government, the slave-trade is being carried on to an extent that in a few years will depopulate them.

The Italian consul in Aden lately sent a dispatch to Rome announcing the total destruction of Porro's expedition. This enterprise was undertaken by the Geographical Society of Milan, and was equipped in the most perfect manner. Its object was to establish commercial relations between Abyssinia and the Nile, and to explore the unknown regions between these points. Despite the warnings of the English authorities, Porro set out with a suite of distinguished savants and experts, and safely reached Galdezza, where after a desperate resistance all of the members of the expedition were murdered. It is now said that the Italians are determined to send a large military expedition that will annihilate Hawa, the hostile chief, and all his followers.

Abyssinia seems to be the slaughter-house and grave-yard of explorers and missionaries. Barral, a French explorer, who was nearly at the end of his journey, and separated from his main body in order to reach Shoa more expeditiously, was attacked by a division of Danakils, and murdered with all his suite. The German missionaries who five days later passed the same spot found unmistakable evidences of the massacre in the bones of the victims scattered around by the hyenas and vultures. The news from Dahomey, now under the protectorate of Portugal, seems somewhat more favorable. Prisoners of war are kept as slaves—not murdered.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION is now receiving unusual attention throughout Germany. An association was formed in 1883 for the thorough investigation of all sources that might yield information on this point. It has had annual gatherings without much eclat until the last one, recently convened in Frankfort-on-the-Main. This was a grand success, and showed that much useful investigation is being instituted to this end. The "evangelical consciousness" is clearly on the rise in the German heart, when seven thousand members can be obtained for this object.

At this general meeting there were present historians and theologians from nearly all the German Universities, under the lead of the famous Professor Köstlin, of Halle. At the initial service of the occasion Dr. Baur, of Coblenz, the chief Protestant of his district, preached the sermon. The principal meeting was attended by a large concourse from the city, among which were the mayor and magistracy and all the Protestant clergy. Köstlin, as presiding officer on the occasion, gave a clear insight into the aims and labors of the association, emphasizing the fact that these were to seek after the truth and not to cultivate any special line of church policy.

Dr. Schott, of Stuttgart, delivered an address marked by great intellectuality, on Frankfort as the refuge of persecuted Protestants. This was so acceptable that it is shortly to appear in print. Pastor Meille, of

Catania, then depicted the condition of the Waldensian congregations and Protestantism at large in Italy. Professor Kolde, of Erlangen, gave a general review of the work of the association and the publications that had already signalized its labors. The convention closed its sessions, as always in Germany, with a banquet after a business meeting. The "Germania," the ultramontane organ of Germany, will now need to cease its sneers regarding this movement.

NORWAY is now greatly agitated over certain reforms advanced in the pretended interest of the Church, but more than likely, in the opinion of many of the Christian people of the land, to do it on the whole great harm. The present ministerial president—Johann Svendrup—has acquired great power over the masses of the radical party, and figures, in the eyes of some, more as demagogue than as reformer. He and the king are at swords' points, and the monarch finds him a formidable antagonist.

Under the form of radical bills, many propositions are laid before the Chambers that look very threatening for the cause of religion. The minister considers that the time has come to attempt an onslaught on the Lutheran Church of Norway, which doubtless has allowed many abuses to grow gray in its administration, but which is very dear to the great body of the Norwegians. The Lutheran circles have therefore not delayed to express their dissatisfaction at these measures, and have united in a strong and unmistakable protest regarding them. As soon as the contents of these proposed laws were known, the theological faculty of the University and the clergy of Christiania placed themselves at the head of a movement to send an address to the king and the Chambers in regard to the "dangers that threaten the Church."

In this appeal the king is earnestly requested to call, in the near future, a Church Convention for the consideration of the proposed measures of the government, so far as they affect the life of the Church, which have as yet been subjected to no ecclesiastical investigation. In the words of the address: "For centuries no reforms have been proposed that cut so deeply into the church-life of Norway. The organization of congregations is to be changed, and the mode of filling the parochial offices is to be radically altered. Free congregations are to rise in the midst of the State Church, the mode of marriage contracts is to be altered, and, in a word, the entire *modus operandi* of the Church is to undergo a very radical change."

At the conclusion of this address, the signers express their deepest conviction that many of these reform laws will work far more mischief than good, and that they contain the germs of dissolution for the Lutheran Church of Norway. It is affirmed that the great majority of the clergy of the country will sign this address, and in the meanwhile the Chambers have adjourned without taking any action in regard to the proposed reform laws of the Church. Now it is doubtless true that the Lutheran Church of Norway needs a grand overhauling for the purpose of weeding out abuses; but the fear in the minds of many is, that the main

object is destruction rather than reformation. If this threat can stir up the church circles to necessary measures on their own part it will be of great value to spiritual religion.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE, among other good movements regarding Christian life, is endeavoring to reach some kind of uniformity and unity concerning "Sabbath Observance;" and a recent publication, entitled "A Systematic View of the Police Regulations regarding Manual Labor on the Sabbath and Church Holidays," has given the authorities a substantial basis for practical measures regarding the same. From this it appears that the laws and regulations are so various and so vague that there is among them no consistency and no harmony. With a view to effect more of these qualities the measures have been divided into three main groups.

The first group aims mainly at the protection of public divine service; the second, not only at the divine service, but also the public observance of the entire day; and the third, in addition to divine service and Sabbath observance, also at the rest from labor and trade. The investigations of these Sunday laws in Germany is something quite curious. Many of these regulations proscribe work in factories; some of them forbid labor on the part of artisans generally; and others, the ordinary methods of trade and commerce. But nearly all of them permit exceptions, and thereby the inequality of their operation becomes still greater. Of these laws but very few seek the protection of divine service; in nearly the half of Germany the object of the ordinances is simply rest from labor.

There is still greater want of uniformity in regard to commercial activity on the Sabbath; for on this point there are no less than four divisions or modes of prohibition: business is prohibited only during morning service on the Sabbath, or the prohibition extends to all of the time or period of service, or it is from day-break until service is ended, or it does not begin until nine o'clock in the morning. The strictest ordinances—those proscribing trade during the entire day—are found in Hesse, Fulda, and Frankfort; the weaker ones in Bavaria and Baden, affecting only certain days.

Prussia is clearly leading off in the move to make all laws extend to the entire day, and to make them alike in all the realm of the empire; her example will, it is hoped, be contagious in the German Parliament. The railroad corporations in several government districts have closed their car-shops on the Sabbath; and such a measure cannot fail to extend itself to other great industrial works. In case certain work is very pressing the men are allowed to work overtime on working days, and receive therefor enhanced pay. The district of Düsseldorf, many years ago, interdicted all work on the Sabbath and the Church festivals in the printing offices. This example is now quoted, and an effort is being made to extend it to the entire Prussian monarchy, for in Berlin and Cologne several of the daily journals are issued also on the Sabbath. A cry is also

becoming loud for an interdict on Sunday morning public concerts and popular assemblies. Shall we let the Germans shame us in this important matter?

SWITZERLAND, in its religious life, is still in a state of great unrest, especially in the French districts of that little land. The Methodist advance keeps up considerable agitation; and this, with the aggressive movements of the Salvation Army and the Adventists, is quite a thorn in the side of staid and conservative Churchmen. And, to make the matter still more uncomfortable for the religious conservatives, a certain Pastor Wood has recently arrived from Australia to teach a doctrine of faith and personal purity far beyond that of Pearsall Smith, who found there quite a following.

The editor of the "*Chrétien Evangelique*" visited one of these holiness meetings of Mr. Wood, and was moved to speak about it in no measured terms; it was a new feature to him "that men who had faithfully served their God for years should acknowledge their sinful lives in the past and declare themselves renewed and reconsecrated to Christian work." And said editor, while acknowledging that it is ever necessary to appeal for mercy and pardon to a higher power, felt annoyed at being told that his past had not been up to the real Christian standard of purity and devotion. The doctrine of the "higher life," and that of the immediate conscious conversion of the soul by the visitation of the Divine Spirit, are not readily comprehended by the ordinary believer in the continental Churches.

In Neuchâtel the Salvationists have recently lost some of their influence; a portion of the "Free Church" there seemed inclined to leave their own connection and follow the agitators, but they have now returned to the bosom of the Church. Mr. Wood had by no means the success there that he obtained in Geneva, as he did not report a single case of faith-cure. The Free Church of this canton, which has made so many sacrifices for its cause, succeeded last year in obtaining the necessary funds to meet its expenses and show a small surplus at the end of the year. The lectures of the theological faculty were attended by twenty-two students, and thirty-five in all are under the guidance of the institution.

In the canton of St. Gall a very salutary law was recently passed in regard to Sabbath observance. Sundays, as well as certain holy days, are made legal holidays; during the morning service all stores and drinking places are to be closed, and neither gymnastic nor shooting festivals are allowed during this period. There has been, of course, a good deal of opposition to the law, but to the honor of the canton be it said, that in spite of all the activity of the inn-keepers they were not able to find the six thousand votes necessary to repeal it. In the canton of Herisau there has been quite a conflict regarding a preacher of a positivist tendency, but he was retained in his congregation by a goodly majority, to the sorrow of the more fervent Christians.

THE PROTESTANT SPANISH CHURCH has at last succeeded in gaining a status in Spain, as is announced with great joy from Madrid by the indefatigable Pastor Fliedner, who has greatly distinguished himself as a Christian pioneer in that country. Since 1871 there has been a certain union between the churches of the north and those of the south of Spain, in which Cabrera took a prominent position. But he was at first quite exclusively Presbyterian in his tendency, and then went suddenly into the Episcopalian Church and mission and caused himself to be elected bishop, although he has not yet received the Episcopal ordination.

On the other hand, the growing missions of the Americans in the north of Spain formed, in the summer of 1885, an "Iberian Protestant Union." On the occasion of the recent Synod of the Spanish Christian Church, to which Fliedner belongs, an effort was made to form a confederation with the above churches, and therefore the representatives of the Iberian Union were invited as guests. But even in this Synod there was a small party that could hardly consent to extend their creed broadly enough to render easy the access of the other churches.

But when, contrary to expectation, the accession of Pastor Empaytaz from Barcelona was effected, there grew for the Synod the hope not only of a confederation, but of a large congregational union. This was the aim for which Fliedner had worked for twelve years, and in which he had been supported by Carrasco of Malaga. It was therefore so much the more gratifying that through the efforts of Empaytaz, shortly before the close of the Synod, the union was effected. Abandoning the name of the "Spanish Christian Church," they joined under the general name of "Protestant Spanish Church." This does not yet include all the Protestant workers in Spain, but it is said to comprise the preponderating number of the congregations of the country from the north and the south who join in the common work. "This," says Fliedner, "is a blessing from the Lord, and a wonder before our eyes."

THE VATICAN AND CHINA is still the question among the diplomatic quidnuncs of the Old World. An authority from the Vatican declares that the initiative for diplomatic representation of the Curia in China came from the latter power. If this is the case, the French certainly have no claims to a protectorate in the matter; there will simply be a relation between China and papal Rome as between the latter and the Sublime Porte. In Constantinople the Curia is simply represented by a delegate who is under the protection of France. The Holy See, it is said, would be quite inclined to grant the wish of France; but since China would resent this as an interference in its internal affairs, the French proposition has not much prospect of success.

Latest reports declare that negotiations are still pending between France and the Vatican in regard to the matter. The "Temps" of Paris asserts that the authorizations lie wholly within the domain of the Church, and therefore the protectorate of France must be maintained. But reports from Rome announce that the efforts of the French ambas-

sador in this matter have remained futile. So much is clear, namely, that the pope has sent his accord to China, and will soon dispatch thither a delegate as ambassador extraordinary with a diplomatic character. China will accredit to the Vatican one of her diplomats now at some European court.

IN THE BALTIC PROVINCES matters are in no better shape between them and Russia. In the government circles of St. Petersburg it is said the Baltic Consistories will treat with leniency the Protestant preachers accused of having performed certain divine offices on persons of the Greek faith. The emperor has commanded that in future all such cases must be settled before legal bodies, and the decision sent to him for final adjudication.

A St. Petersburg journal receives information from Dorpat that the Curator Kapustin, of the schools in that city, has received official notice that his office and administration must be removed to Riga by the beginning of the next school year. At the same time it is ordered that the highest institutions, as the University and the Polytechnic School, must be molded into the Russian spirit; that is, that those professors who are Russian subjects, and are familiar with the language of the empire, are obliged to deliver their lectures in the Russian tongue.

From a creditable source it is also affirmed that the Curator above mentioned, during his recent stay in St. Petersburg, recommended to the authorities not to change the language of the University of Dorpat into the Russian from the German, but to close the whole establishment with the exception of the theological faculty, and to make this simply a Theological Seminary. But this proposition seems not to have been accepted, though it is true that certain funds destined to aid German professors in removing to Dorpat have been absorbed. This means that the German tongue in the Dorpat schools is to die a slow death.

THE FRENCH CHAMBERS, as seen by one of its most thoughtful and liberal members, E. de Pressensé, are thus nervously and thrillingly depicted in his latest "*Revue du Mois*:"

"The parliamentary session has recommenced under sad auspices in the incoherence and cross-purposes of the interpellations with Jacobinic projects, such as the law for the expulsion of the princes, which radical folly proposes without winking, and which government weakness accepts in principle. In this steeple-chase of dangerous insanities the members of the Budget Commission of the Chamber of Deputies have desired to be the first to arrive at the goal in deciding that they would make no report on the budget of public worship. They thus struck it out with a dash of the pen, imagining by a single blow to cut the inextricable knot of claims and interests which are bound up in such a problem, without speaking of the political gravity of so rash a solution. The transitions to be arranged, the new legislation to be regulated; nothing of all these was worthy of an hour of examination. They made of these a clean sweep. Never did radicalism push its break-neck policy so far!

"M. Clemenceau, who before being the premier of to-morrow is the sovereign of to-day, conducted in person this beautiful freak. Thus to act is to give points to the Municipal Council of Paris, even after the recent insanities on the religious question in the scholastic point of view. We have exalted this momentary decision of the Budget Commission only in its character of a symptom. Moreover, the Chamber having taken into consideration the proposition of Michelet on the separation of the Church from the State, the question will be approached in a great debate. We could wish that our radicals of all shades might obtain a glance of the German press of these later days. They would see to what extent our conquerors of yesterday follow with an attentive eye our sterile combats and the strife of our parties; with what satisfaction they note our most perilous faults, and how they forget not for an hour the fearful shock of the two races which these announce and prepare. The sinister bird of prey is hovering over us with open eye and extended talons."

FATHER HYACINTHE is battling away in Paris on the socialistic question. He recently announced in the Winter Circus a discourse on the labor troubles of the day, and was favored with an audience that scarcely paid the expenses for the rent. His opponents interrupted him with stormy outbreaks, and finally absolutely prevented him by noise from proceeding with his speech. He denounced, as the danger of the period, materialism, unbelief, and the abnegation of the spirit, as leading back to barbarism and weakening all the feelings of life. His remedy for the improvement of society was to bring back God again into souls and into families. True liberalism lies in that direction, and property, in his opinion, is not a robbery nor a disgrace, but the reward of virtue as well as of work. After the orator had left the platform amid the wildest outcries of his hearers, he suddenly returned and exclaimed: "You are Germans, disciples of Büchner, but I belong to a nobler race. I feel within me the spirit of immortality; I am a pupil of Cartesius and the Druids!"

A COLONY FOR EPILEPTICS is the latest benevolent movement in Germany. And the founders of the enterprise appeal to the public for means to show love and sympathy for these poor outcasts, and give them a home where their souls and their bodies may find what little comfort is possible on earth to these pitiful creatures.

The number of epileptic wards from all parts of the land amounts to 795, and to these may be added 250 others suffering with the plague, especially some poor abandoned children. And even with these great numbers others stand waiting at the doors with pitiful appeals to be taken in as soon as these can again be opened. All this work has run up an unavoidable debt of 500,000 marks. This fact explains why the authorities of the institution are again counting on the loyalty of old friends to come forward in the hour of need. The representative man of this grand work is the well-known Pastor Bodelschwingh, whose name is a symbol of popular benevolence in the Fatherland.

AND still another biblical commentary is soon to appear in Germany as an addition to Zöckler's "Manual of Theological Sciences." This latter bears the name, "Concise Commentary on the Sacred Writings of the Old and New Testaments, as well as the Apocryphas." Professor Strock is to take general charge of the Old Testament, and Dr. Zöckler of the New. The necessity of this undertaking is based on the fact that the present commentaries are overloaded with learned material, wading through which is a task that retards rather than advances the practical study of the Bible. The issues are to appear in alternate sections from the two Testaments. We perceive among the names of the workers that of Luthardt on the Gospel of John, and the Acts of the Apostles by Zöckler. Dr. Rosgen leads off with the New Testament series: We can simply add that a plain, direct, and practical commentary for German students will doubtless be regarded by them as a boon and a blessing.

THE famous African explorer Lieutenant Wissmann has just returned from Madeira to the Congo, where in Vivi he organized a caravan for Leopoldville, hoping to arrive in time to catch the mission steamer *Peace* for the upper waters and an expedition to Kassai. If he failed in this he would await the arrival of Stanley, who at latest accounts was soon expected at Stanley Pool. On the journey up the stream he will be accompanied by two Belgian officers who will take command of the *Luluaburg*. There, supported by his faithful Ba-luaba, he will organize a caravan to return to the east, but in a direction south of his great journey of 1881, which led him to Nyangwe. This region is of great interest in hydrographical matters, and here he expects, according to the accounts of the natives, to find Landschi Lake, in which the three upper arms of the Congo unite. As soon as he reaches this river he will descend it to Stanley Falls and thence to Stanley Pool.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE FOUR LEADING ENGLISH SOCIETIES. — The four leading Foreign Mission Societies of England are, of course, the Baptist, the London, the Church, and the Wesleyan, arranging them in the order of time. The Baptist has entered upon its ninety-fifth year of organized usefulness; the London (Congregational), upon its ninety-third; the Church (representing the Evangelicals of the Church of England), upon its eighty-eighth; and the Wesleyan upon its seventieth, counting from the actual organization in 1817. Arranged in the order of income, the Church Society comes first, with its million and more of dollars; the Wesleyan second, with \$690,825; the London third, with \$620,390; and the Baptist fourth, with \$308,000. The grand total is \$2,780,200—a very handsome sum, indeed. Two of the societies, the Church and the Baptist, reached their highest figures in

income the past year. The anniversaries continue to be great events in the religious year of London.

The anniversary of the Church Society was graced this year by the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury as the preacher; an event so rare in the history of the society that the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" makes much of it. It was the second time that a primate had thus honored the society, Archbishop Longley being the first to perform the service, as long ago as 1863. Archbishop Benson, whose name has a strong interest for Methodists, discussed the topics of extension, increase of funds, the future of the Native Church, and the question of union in mission fields. On the last point, he said, On remote fields the old sectarian animosities seem to be regarded as discreditable on all sides, and amalgamation of Christian bodies is coming into the thought of all Christians. But amalgamation involves concession, and the Church of England cannot surrender any portion of its inheritance from the past. It has elasticity, but it also has distinct lines which it cannot ignore. It must continue faithful, come what may, to its "great deposit." Thus, if at all, will it become the bond of union. The society lost its honorary president, the Earl of Chichester, the past year, and Captain Mande, of the Royal Navy, was elected as his successor. Captain Mande has been identified with the society fifty years. Among the speakers at the anniversary were Bishop Ryle, of Liverpool, and Bishop Moule, of China. The society's missions, which are scattered over the entire globe, are for the most part in a very prosperous position. One of the most conspicuous of the exceptions is that of the Central African Mission, on the Victoria Nyanza. The missionaries have been in extreme peril, while some of the converts have suffered persecutions of extraordinary character. The young king is bad and brutal, and will neither allow the missionaries to withdraw nor to go on with their work. There are many stanch converts, and several young men are asking for baptism in the face of the terrible threats and acts of the king.

Central Africa is also the field in which the London Society has suffered most. Its losses on Lake Tanganyika have been very discouraging, but the society has resolved to fill up the depleted ranks of its missionary force and prosecute the mission with renewed vigor. Much of the lake has been explored, and a light-house has been erected on Kavala Island. Another light is soon to be established at the south end of the lake. The society considers the future of the mission to be hopeful. The South Sea missions of the society are passing through a season of severe trial. The incoming of the varied influences of civilization and commerce, the growth of formalism, and the occasional outbreak of old heathenish habits create special difficulties which must be dealt with very carefully and wisely. The society has withdrawn from Tahiti, its oldest mission, leaving three missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Society to look after the native churches. The first missionaries landed in Tahiti in 1797, and labored until 1813 before a single sign of success was given them. In that year came a great awakening, and in 1821 native Christians went out from that island to

carry the Gospel to the Hervey group. In 1830 the same mission sent evangelists to the Navigator's, and from Samoa the cross was carried to the New Hebrides. It was also sent to the Loyalty Islands, whence, in 1870, it was carried to the island of New Guinea. The mission in New Guinea is now among the most promising fields of the society. Four gospels have been published in two dialects, and translations into two other dialects are in progress. Secretary Thompson closed his speech at the anniversary with these striking words :

It has been my duty and privilege to read through all the reports which have come to us from the different mission stations. One impression has been deeper than another, and it has grown as I have read them. There has been much good, true work in various directions, and yet there is one great lack, which is apparent every-where. As you read through the reports, especially from the great eastern missions, I think you will feel that the evidence of that lack comes out in almost every one of them, and is expressed by many of the missionaries in the most painful terms. They have schools and teachers; they have abundant opportunities for preaching; but, somehow, something more is wanted. The people are moving up toward Christianity, but they stop before they profess themselves on Christ's side; or, having accepted Christianity, they remain still at the low, lukewarm stage of Christian character and progress. From every quarter the impression comes, and deepens as we go on reading, that the one thing needed now is a blessing from on high. God has given us the workers; God has given us unrivaled opportunities for work; God is opening up fresh fields of labor; God is preparing, by our means, the ground; and now he bids us look to him, ask of him the blessing; and if we wait and pray, the windows of heaven will be opened, and he will pour out such a blessing that there shall not be room to receive it.

The Wesleyan Society celebrated its anniversary this year with much speech-making. The annual meeting and the missionary breakfast are events second only to the Annual Conference in the Wesleyan ecclesiastical year. A dozen long speeches, more or less, by representative Wesleyans, such as the president of the Conference and the missionary secretaries, and by well-known missionaries, occupy the pages of "Wesleyan Notices," and testify to the unappeased demand of the British public for anniversary addresses. The meetings were less jubilant than usual because of a decrease in the income of the society, which causes a deficiency of almost \$24,000. The missions of the society, which are numerous and widely separated, have had a prosperous year. Those in Europe—in France, Belgium, Germany, and Austria, Spain, Portugal, and Italy—are advancing slowly. The Ceylon mission, which is now more than seventy years old, has been extended during the year. The South Ceylon district has been divided into three districts; and in the Kandy district a region embracing eight hundred villages is now being evangelized for the first time. In India signs of an intellectual awakening are recognized. The society has six districts in India, and has directed that fifty new schools be opened in each district. Every-where there are increasing demands for education; and some of the Wesleyan high-schools will be raised to the rank of second-grade colleges, so as to admit students preparing for the intermediate university examinations. While the society is thus strengthening its educational forces, it is also giving increased attention to village evangelization, for which a band of trained native evangelists is being prepared. In

China the year has been one of reorganization and recuperation from the effects of the war. The chief point of interest within the bounds of the South African Affiliated Conference has been the opening of the Transkei territories, despite the engagements of the British government, to the traffic in intoxicants. All protests of missionaries and natives were unavailing to restrain the authorities from this wicked step. In South Central Africa, including the Transvaal, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Zululand, the society has twelve missionaries. Many new stations have been occupied, and many are ready for occupation. The society's important mission on the west coast is being extended, and the outposts are being pushed into the great interior, which is open now from the Gambia to the Niger. The other missions of the society are in Egypt, in Malta, at Gibraltar, in the Bahamas, in the West Indies, and in Central America. The general summary gives 290 central or principal stations in the various missions, 1,265 chapels and other preaching places, 302 missionaries and assistant missionaries, 1,710 other paid agents, 3,526 unpaid agents, 30,811 full members, 4,034 on probation, and 55,420 scholars.

The anniversary of the Baptist Society was not so enthusiastic as usual. At the Zenana Breakfast and at the more private meeting of the constituents of the society there was, however, a good deal of quiet, vigorous talk. The great meeting in Exeter Hall was not so impressive as it generally is. The hall was not crowded, the speeches were sensible but not rousing, and the audience attentive but not demonstrative. The chairman was Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, a son of the famous brewer and philanthropist, one of "the Clapham sect"—that knot of active evangelical Christians to whom Zachary Macaulay, father of Lord Macaulay, belonged. The chairman expressed his pleasure that the Baptist Society, like the Church Missionary Society, with which he was closely identified, could announce increased contributions, and this in spite of commercial depression. He also spoke sympathetically of the difficulties of the Baptist Society in the country of the Cameroons. While this territory, on the fatal west coast of Africa, belonged to England, the missionaries had gathered a church, built up a town which they called "Victoria," and diffused among the natives a considerable tincture of the arts of civilization. The territory has, however, been ceded to the Germans. And though there are clauses in the act of cession specially protecting the missionaries and their property, the German jealousy of the presence of Englishmen in their territories makes things so uncomfortable that the society is negotiating the transfer of the mission to some German society. The chairman said, if intelligent and Protestant Germans are so bad, our missionaries have only the worst to expect in those large territories which have been conceded to such ignorant and bigoted Catholic countries as Spain and Portugal. The Report, a *résumé* of which was presented to the meeting, is most interesting. It speaks of continuous and steady progress in the various mission fields. It believes to-day to be the missionary opportunity of the ages; and that it is to England, beyond any other nation, that facilities have been granted for bearing the Lamp of

Life into regions of darkness and death. To English Christians the question is, whether the opportunity will be their spiritual exaltation or ruin. Twenty-two missionaries had been accepted for service during the year. Two of these were ladies. One, a Miss Lila Y. Dawborn, who is sent to China, "is thankful to relieve the society from all pecuniary liability, her means enabling her entirely to support herself." This is an example worthy of being followed by ladies of independent property. Of these twenty-two missionaries, seven go to India, ten to the Congo, and five to China. The society mourns exceptionally heavy losses, both among its home supports and among the working foreign staff. Of these last four veterans, three men and one woman, and six recruits, four men and two women, have fallen. In India, the English Baptist Society has twenty-eight principal stations and one hundred and thirty sub-stations, scattered over Bengal, southern, western, and north-western India. The missionaries are sixty-three, and the native evangelists one hundred and nineteen. The literary work done in India is very considerable. About 80,000 copies of the gospels have been printed at the Mission press during the year. The preparation of the Sanskrit New Testament has been advanced some two hundred and forty pages. Tracts by many thousands have been printed. Grammars, and hymn-books for congregations and Sunday-schools in English and native meters, have been issued. One of these hymn books can be obtained for one *anna*, or three cents. A periodical called the "*Khristiya Baudhab*" is published monthly. In the palatial buildings at Serampore the Vernacular Theological Training Class reports thirty-two members added during the year. At Delhi the native Christian Training Class reports two members as qualified preachers of the first or highest grade, ten in the second grade, and eleven in the third or lowest grade. In Ceylon there are three principal stations and seventy-nine sub-stations, ministered to by four missionaries and twenty-one native evangelists. In China there are six principal stations and sixty-six sub-stations, confined to the provinces of Shansi and Shantung. The missionaries are eighteen, assisted by twenty native evangelists. In Japan the principal station is Tokio, around which are six sub-stations. Two missionaries and four native evangelists take charge of them. In Palestine there is also only one principal station, Nablous, and four sub-stations. One missionary devotes himself to preaching among the predatory Bedawin. In Central Africa seven principal stations are distributed along the Congo. Here the society has twenty agents at work. On the west coast of Africa there are five principal stations and twice that number of sub-stations. There are six missionaries and nine evangelists. In the West Indies there are eight principal stations and forty-nine sub-stations, nine missionaries and one hundred and forty-two native evangelists. The Baptist Union of Jamaica reports an annual increase of four hundred and fifty. In Norway fifteen missionaries are scattered through eighteen of the principal towns. In Brittany there are two principal stations and twenty-three sub-stations. The missionaries are three and the native evangelists nine. The society has eleven stations and eight sub-stations

scattered over the Italian promontory, embracing Rome, Florence, Leghorn, Genoa, and Naples. Mr. Wall is assisted by two other missionaries and by twelve native evangelists. The spirit in which this mission is conducted is well expressed in a few words from one of the missionaries: "We avoid mere controversy which draws crowds of people, but, so far as I have been able to discover, never *converts*. Our great aim is to preach Christ—to set Christ before the people and press his claims upon their hearts." The Mission Press is also energetically worked. About one hundred and twenty-six thousand gospels, tracts, and hymn books, etc., were issued during the year. Two papers are also maintained, "Il Testimonio," and an illustrated family paper called "Il Buon Genio." Thus the English Particular Baptist Mission—for the general Baptists have a mission of their own—supports about four hundred and eighty preachers, missionary and native, in some four hundred and sixty-five places, scattered over the continents of both the Old and New Worlds.

After the report came the Treasurer's statement, announcing that the income of the society was greater than it had ever previously been, amounting to £61,418, or about \$308,000. Yet their expenditure had exceeded the income by some \$10,000. This, however, Mr. Baynes expected soon to wipe out. A week afterward it was reduced by \$3,500. Speeches then followed, the most notable of which was one by G. M. Rouse, of the literary department in India. He showed that only at the present rate of progress the complete Christianization of India might be expected in a century. No such progress, he contended, was accorded to truth in the first centuries of the Church. Dr. Landels, of Edinburgh, earnestly exhorted to self-denial for the mission cause. His venerable appearance and well-known sincerity gave great weight to his words.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THE April number of the "Westminster Review" has a second part of the very remarkable examination of Goethe's *Faust*, which was begun in an earlier number. This review exhibits the fact that each generation finds in *Faust* an object of renewed and increasing interest, and the position of that poem is certainly assured as the greatest of all modern productions. There is also a review of the life of William Lloyd Garrison. It is highly laudatory and enthusiastic, scarcely taking account of the limitations of Mr. Garrison's character, while no more than just in its tribute to the services which he rendered to the liberty of the slave. To those who know the bitterness of which Mr. Garrison was capable, the following sentence will surely appear extravagant: "The earth . . . is sometimes relieved and brightened by the radiance of one of those incomparable men who actually live upon the same moral elevation which others only attain to in particular moments of emergency, or while

listening to the strains of music which utter the eternal harmony of truth. These are men who have been hallowed by the baptism of a divine pity for all human woe—as Gautama the Buddha, when he was awake beneath the tree in Bhodimandha, or Jesus the Christ in the garden of Gethsemane.” Those who know how Mr. Garrison could hate as well as love will shudder a little as they read these sentences. There is also in this number a discussion of the fishery question and of its imperial importance based upon the messages of President Cleveland and upon certain Canadian documents. This article exhibits the immense importance of the fisheries to Canada, and their equal importance to us. There is also a review of Lieutenant Greely’s “Farthest North,” which is full of sympathy and of willing recognition of the scientific successes achieved. These are the only articles, with the exception of that on party government, which should long detain the American reader. This last is a strong defense of a government in which civil service, according to the American idea, should have larger influence in England than it has at the present time.

In the May number of the “Nineteenth Century,” Matthew Arnold leads off in a paper entitled “The Nadir of Liberalism.” It is thoroughly sympathetic toward Mr. Gladstone, while seeing also certain radical defects in his mental make-up and political methods. Richard A. Proctor, who writes wonderfully well for the quantity he produces, attempts to answer the question, “Whence come the comets?” Mr. Proctor seems to believe and teach that the comets are the progeny of the planets. It is somewhat startling, though plausible to read, that in 1872, and at sundry times since, the sun has been caught in the act of ejecting bodies, probably liquid or solid hydrogen atmosphere, around his globe with velocity so great that the matter thus expelled from his interior can never return to him, the velocities ranging to 450 miles per second at the least. The final answer to the question is this: Comets which visit our system from without were expelled millions of years ago from the interior of suns; comets which belong to our system were mostly expelled from the interior of a giant planet in the sun-like state, but in small portion may have been captured from without. Comets of whose past existence meteor streams tell us, were for the most part expelled from our earth herself when she was in the sun-like state; but some of the more important were expelled from the planets, and a few may have been expelled from suns. Percy M. Wallace has a very interesting account of Ignatius Donnelly’s so-called Shakespeare’s cipher, for which there is much more to say than appears upon the surface. The Rev. J. Murphy examines anew the case of Galileo, defending the Roman Catholic Church from the charge of persecuting him.

In the June number of the “Nineteenth Century” E. L. Godkin writes of American home rule, endeavoring to show what relation the government of the several States has to the General Government, and what can be gathered from this with regard to the solution of the question of home

rule in Ireland. This article is full of sympathy with Ireland and the methods and measures of Mr. Gladstone.

Thomas Sully, who is rapidly becoming the foremost writer upon certain psychological matters, has in this number a most admirable paper upon genius and precocity. This article is of itself worth the price of a year's subscription to the periodical.

Those who have lived to middle life without achieving fame may find encouragement in the fact that Dante, Milton, and Cervantes did not reach the impulse of poetic creation in their early life; George Eliot is a very remarkable instance of the imaginative faculty first revealing itself at a comparatively late period; and in the case of Defoe imaginative power had very late development. There are some very interesting tables given, which are believed to be roughly correct, with regard to the numbers in any calling who show distinct promise before the age of 20. Musicians, 19-20; artists, 8-9; scholars, 5-6; poets, novelists, men of science, 3-4; philosophers, 2-3. In order, however, to get a just idea of the relative proportions of the several classes they must be compared in respect of the date of the commencement of the productive period, and also of the age at which distinction is attained. If we take work before thirty as representing early production, we find the proportions in the different groups to be approximately as follows: musicians, 1-1; artists, 41-42; poets, 11-12; scientists, 4-5; scholars, 5-7; philosophers, 5-9; novelists, 9-16. Finally, with respect to the age of distinction we learn that the following proportions attain this result before 40: musicians are equal; poets and scientists are equal in the proportion of 11-12; scholars, 9-10; novelists, 4-5; philosophers, 3-5. This last seems natural, as the meditative power is ordinarily an outcome or growth of later years. The conclusion from these tables is, that the order in respect of precocity answers roughly to the degree of abstractness of faculty employed. Musicians and artists represent sensuous faculty, or the least abstract mode of mental activity, while philosophers represent the highest degree of abstraction. Between these come the men of imagination, the poets and the novelists. It is admitted that genius is precocious in the sense of manifesting itself early; but there are several difficulties with regard to the question whether it soon attains the summit of its development, or whether it goes on improving as long as, or even longer than, ordinary intelligence. This much is true, that the early manifestation of genius is not incompatible with a prolonged and even late development. In proof of this such names as these may be mentioned; Haydn, Beethoven, Michael Angelo, Titian, Milton, Goethe, Voltaire, Gibbon, Lessing, Newton, Leibnitz, Buckley, Mill. It is Mr. Galton's view that eminent men surpass ordinary men not only in superiority from the first, but also in a more prolonged development.

Political economists will do well to read the article by Edward Albert Sassoon on "The Crusade against Silver." It is strongly in favor of bi-metalism. The Countess of Galloway, in her paper on "Women and Politics," concludes that precisely because of their differences from men

women's influence in politics, apart from their influence *through* men, may be of definite value, and would be increased in a right direction by giving the married as well as unmarried the franchise, and that it would not materially alter their essential standing. "The wider scope given to her faculties, and her deeper interest in human affairs, need not distract her nor lead her to desert her true mission in the world."

The "Contemporary Review" for June has a strong paper by R.W.Dale, the well-known Congregational English clergyman, on "The Exclusion of the Irish Members from the Imperial Parliament." He takes strong ground against this exclusion, while clearly recognizing the necessity for establishing subordinate provincial assemblies. Mr. Dale cannot understand the difficulties which Mr. Gladstone sets forth, of drawing a distinction between the presence of the Irish members at Westminster to vote on imperial concerns, while an Irish parliament gives its attention to the affairs of Ireland. It is evident from Mr. Dale's article that the Non-conformist sentiment was not in the recent contest with Mr. Gladstone. The Rev. Sir George W. Cox, Bart., writes of the "Expansion of the Church of England;" a paper of much interest, showing the perpetual round of difficulties in which Anglican Christianity is involved by the bands of the Establishment. It embodies a scheme for the admission of the Non-conformists to the Anglican Church. It suggests the abolition of subscription and the repeal of the Acts of Uniformity as certain to remove the injustice and the wrong of which Non-conformists still have to complain, though the carrying of these measures would not change the character of the Church of England. It is a very pretty dream which the author has, that with these changes the Wesleyan and other bodies might become a part of the English Church as Societies within that Church, following in this the great orders and companies of the Latin Church, and with these changes there would be no reason, the author adds, "why the president or any of the members of the Wesleyan Conference should not also be the incumbent of a benefice or the bishop of a diocese." We cannot share the author's hope that under such conditions dissent would fade away like fire without fuel. There are some people left in the world who hold that Christian doctrine is something which can be ascertained, and that traditions cannot possibly be accepted, and there are many who, however much they may admire the high character and ability of those who call themselves Christian priests, yet feel bound in the interest of truth to make a protest against an idea of the priesthood which they believe to be thoroughly Jewish and therefore anti-Christian. The article is noteworthy for its Christian charity and for its intellectual breadth.

The "New Princeton Review" for July opens with "Recollections of Carlyle," with notes concerning his "Reminiscences," by Charles E. Norton. He gives an interesting sketch of Carlyle in his old age, showing how his feelings remained quick, keen, and intense, while his asperity and petu-

lance were softened, if not subdued. It is pleasant to read how the old hero, though childless, was still full of sweet thoughtfulness for children, and how his ways with them were most gentle and gracious. He strongly condemns Mr. Froude's indiscreet publication of the "Reminiscences," and his violation of the written injunctions. He appears to convict Mr. Froude of carelessness. Assistant Bishop Potter has a paper on the Sunday Question. While admitting that there is great force in the position of those who are resisting what they believe to be the beginning of encroachments destined not to give working-men more opportunities for culture and recreation, or more immunity from labor than they now possess, he also declares that these positions fail to attract the sympathy of those in whose behalf they are maintained, and that working-men as a body are not disposed to active co-operation with those who are undoubtedly their truest friends. As a remedy for this condition of things he suggests that a literature is needed suited to the wants of the working people, and in which the law of periodic rest shall be explained and defended, and, secondly, that practical and helpful sympathy shall be given them in order that they may not feel themselves isolated, and may be made more worthy of generous treatment. The bishop has some excellent words of rebuke for those Christians who do not permit Sunday to be in any part a rest day for their servants. We call attention to this striking sentence: "If to this end the congregations of all our great cities could be turned out of their comfortable sanctuaries for one Sunday and left to fight their way among those of whose lives and homes they at present know absolutely nothing, this, at least, would come to pass—that they would learn enough to set them thinking with unwonted earnestness." Henry W. Farnam, in writing of the Clergy and the Labor Question, declares that there is a great sympathy for working-men among the clergy of our country. H. W. Conn has a very valuable paper upon "The Origin of Life," in which he admits that the complicated movements of protoplasm are intelligible as the result of chemical change whereby the density of the substance is altered, and consequently its shape, but all this fails to reach the question at issue, which regards the directive cause of these changes. The only direct argument would be to manufacture protoplasm and have it begin to assimilate food, or to show in some other way that a purely automatic machine is a possibility which shall, as organisms do, supply itself with its own conditions of activity. Until this is done, the mechanical theory can be only an inference from the general tendency of scientific advance. Behind all must be posited something which the scientist calls Law, which Spencer calls the Unknowable, but which the theist calls God.

The June number of "The New Englander" discusses the difficult question of "Moral Education in Prisons." C. A. Collin writes sympathetically and intelligently on this topic. A. C. Dunham unfolds the organization of the Knights of Labor so far as is permitted by the rules of the order. According to this writer, the Knight is first called upon to fight

monopoly, meaning, in the programme of the Knights, an over-accumulation of wealth in a few hands. The private politics of the Knights are not to be meddled with; no more interest-bearing securities shall be issued by any civic or state government; the government shall purchase and manage all the railroads, telegraph and telephone lines in the country; these shall be paid for by the issue of paper money made legal tender; any deficiency in the ways and means of government should be supplied by the issue of legal tender paper, none of which shall bear interest. Mr. Dunham's conclusion is, that whatever fine words may be said about the belief of the Knights in capital, the organization surely means war against capital.

We do not find ourselves convinced by Mr. Leacock's argument to prove the organization of the Reformed Episcopal Church a necessity. Every reform for which this body separated itself from the parent Church had been accomplished a hundred years before by the Methodist Episcopal Church. If the Methodist Episcopal Church was in the habit of using Wesley's Prayer Book in its Sunday services, the Reformed Episcopal Church would have no standing ground at all.

The July number of "The New Englander" has a very interesting history of the development of educational opportunities for women in the English Universities, exhibiting the fact that England is really in advance of America in this regard. Those who are fond of literary studies will greatly enjoy Dr. Samuel W. Duffield's biographical sketch of Hermann, a forgotten genius of the eleventh century. A thoughtful study of Emerson by W. Salter makes of him a Christian idealist. The article does full justice to Emerson's exalted character, and quotes Mr. Alcott as authority for the dictum that Emerson is to be taken by the hand among all Christians as a brother. The true explanation of Mr. Emerson's career lies in the fact that his Christian education and environment led him to a line of conduct from which some parts of his philosophy would have exempted him.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Theism and Evolution. By JOSEPH S. VAN DYKE. New York: Armstrong & Son.

THIS work has an introduction by Dr. A. A. Hodge; and both he and Dr. Van Dyke agree in declaring that there is a conception of evolution which is compatible with both Theism and Christianity. It is to be regretted that the outlines of this allowable evolution are nowhere drawn, so that the reader may easily distinguish friend from foe. The work is properly a polemic against Atheism and Materialism as they appear to-day. It has always appeared to us that this debate is conducted nowadays with so little knowledge of underlying metaphysical and logical principles that

the one who makes the attack is sure to win the day. The battle resolves itself into a series of skirmishes by which nothing is decided. We are inclined to find the same fault with Dr. Van Dyke's work. The insufficiency of atheistic and materialistic logic is triumphantly shown; and if any one has not learned this already he would do well to read this work. The skirmishing is vigorous and masterly; but one has the feeling at the end that nothing is positively decided. The evil spirit is driven out; but there is no sufficient provision against his coming back. The value of the work is mainly negative. As an exposure of the extravagance and loose logic of anti-theistic theorists it deserves high commendation.

Clark's Foreign Theological Library. New Series, Vol. XXV. A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. By EMIL SCHÜRER, Professor at the University of Giessen. Second Division. The Internal Condition of Palestine and the Jewish People in the Times of Jesus Christ. Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR and Rev. PETER CHRISTIE. Volume III. 8vo, pp. 386. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The first and second volumes of this work were noticed somewhat at length in our issue for March, 1886, to which the reader is referred for our general estimate of its character. The present volume is devoted almost exclusively to the literature of the Jews for that period, both biblical and general. The section on "The Palatinean-Jewish Literature," treats of its "Historiography," its "Psalmodic Literature," its "Gnomic Wisdom" (Jesus Sirach and Pirké Aboth), its "Hortatory Narrative" (Fiction), Pseudepigrapha and Sacred Legends, and Magic and Spells. The section on "The Greco-Jewish Literature," beginning with the Septuagint, and extending through a great body of works, well-known by name but very little read, ends with Philo, and a discussion of his works and his doctrine. The whole book is rich in just the kind of information that a thorough student of the New Testament has need of, shedding, as it does, a flood of clear light upon many points that have been esteemed either obscure or insoluble, sometimes, indeed, reversing accepted interpretations. We may here repeat and emphasize what we said in our notice of the earlier volumes, that without some acquaintance with the things here taught the reading of the New Testament must fail to lead to any clear conception of what it declares.

Biblical Essays; or, Exegetical Studies in the Books of Job and Jonah, Ezekiel's Prophecy of Gog and Magog, St. Peter's "Spirits in Prison," and the Key to the Apocalypse. By CHARLES HENRY HAMILTON WRIGHT, D.D., of Trinity College, Dublin. 12mo, pp. 255. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The species of writing to which these "Studies" belong often has both a special charm and a high value with all who are addicted to rational but reverent free thinking on biblical subjects. Those found in this volume are designed for general readers rather than professional students; and yet some good degree of scholarship may be needed for their proper appreciation. They are able and earnest, conservative and yet distinctively free—weighty and yet vivacious—in a word, *clever*.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

Plato and Paul ; or, Philosophy and Christianity. An Examination of the Two Fundamental Forces of Cosmic and Human History, with their Contents, Methods, Functions, Relations, and Results Compared. By J. W. MENDENHALL, Ph.D., D.D., Author of "Echoes from Palestine," etc. Imperial 8vo, pp. 777. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

This is a remarkable book. Its magnitude, as a single treatise, the wide range of its topics, the copiousness of its matter, the elaborateness of its discussions, the richness of its quotations and references, its fertility of suggestions, and the manifest labor and painstaking used in its preparation, all these things together present it to us as a marvelous production. Its size—seven hundred and seventy-seven pages, each of nearly five hundred words—equals about two fifths of our English Bible of the Old and New Testaments, and would require, for its reading, if gone over carefully at the rate of fifty pages a day, and giving to it five days in a week, three weeks and two days. In these hurrying times that is a very long time to devote to a single volume. The range of topics—all, somehow, connected with the subject in hand—is simply of cyclopedian fullness; and while none of them can be objected to as entirely irrelevant, the case suggests the desirableness of a faculty for judicious exclusion, as a qualification for the complete book-maker.

With the steadiness of purpose of an Alexander going forth to subdue the nations of the earth in detail, and with the courage of a Hercules who shrunk from no required task, the writer passes from theme to theme, leaving no subject till it has been subjected to a thorough and exhaustive consideration, and then going quietly to the next to subject it to a similar completeness of examination. The range of literature laid under contribution, with the evident mastery of all that is used, is also marvelous, rendering probable, without other proof, that the seven years said to have been devoted to its incubation were most diligently employed. And though the range of the work is so very wide, and the discussions so comprehensive, still its suggestions of matters beyond what it covers in the discussions seem to indicate that the writer has given us only the smaller part of what came within the range of his mental vision. But although he could travel so widely without weariness, and wrestle with such vast subjects simply for the love of the exercise, he should have known that very few of even the most stalwart students could follow him in his wide excursion without weariness and probable failure.

As a specimen of book-making, we are compelled to speak of the production as faulty through excess. It has matter sufficient for three or four distinct treatises; and a division and distribution of its contents into that number of independent works could have been made without any violent separation of related parts. The nearly twenty chapters relating to Plato and Paul would, after removing from them certain matters that belong more fittingly to what follows, have made a fair-sized volume, with the advantage of complete unity of subject and design. Then, what

is written on the subject of the relations between Philosophy and Christianity, though somewhat diffused and mingled with other matters, if separated from all else and presented by itself, would have constituted a compilation sufficiently large for a volume, with one entirely definite, ruling idea. The discussions respecting some things, partly *of* and partly *about* Christianity (see Chapters XXVI to XXXI inclusive), are certainly clever and valuable, quite as much for what is suggested as for what is said, but these might have been omitted.

Discussions of this kind are helpful to those who can use them advantageously, without being positively harmful to any others. It is not needful, in order to profit by them, that one should agree with the opinions expressed and defended; but instead, the free discussion of a fancy or allusion may often prove the most fruitful as a provocative to productive thinking. To many things advanced in these chapters we should certainly refuse our assent, and yet we have read them with pleasure and to edification. A book full of such speculations—and a pretty full one might be excerpted from our author's capacious *collectanea*—would prove both curious and useful.

The evident design of the work, as a whole, appears to be to show the unity of Philosophy and Christianity, not, however, as independent co-ordinates, but as contained and container. It seeks to show the philosophic character of Christianity, and its capability of becoming completely harmonized with the findings of the human intellect properly enlightened and guided. The assertion and proof and illustration of that thought constitute the thread that runs through the entire production, though large parts of the work are only remotely related to that thought, and contribute nothing to its support. But while recognizing the ability and the reverent tone of the book, we still wholly dissent from its final conclusion, holding, as we do, in harmony with a celebrated philosopher, whose deference to Christianity was more formal than real, that our holy religion rests upon faith rather than reason; and that the highest office possible to philosophy in its relations to revealed religion is to serve in the outer courts, not presuming to enter its holy places, even with unsandaled feet, and especially to turn away its inquiring gaze from the unapproachable holy of holies of the divine mysteries.

In the production of this marvelous work the author has abundantly justified his claim to a place among the most widely read of the men of our times, in the related subjects of Philosophy and Christianity, and as having put to practical use the results of his broad and fruitful studies. Setting out to show the essential unity of Philosophy in its highest forms with Christianity, in which, according to our conception, he is wholly in the wrong, he seems to have made the most of an inconclusive argument; and so if he has failed in his main design, as we surely think he has, he has nevertheless shown his ability by the cleverness of the performance, executed in such great disadvantage. And yet while rendering such praise as justly due to the performance as a whole, exceptions must be made in respect to some of the lines of argumentation, as for example

that which calls "Christianity a Geometrical Ideal," which thought is definitely propounded and elaborated through successive pages. To our conception the application of mathematical "ideals" to things spiritual is simply "unthinkable," like predicating shape of sounds, or color of conceptions. And still, with all its drawbacks, the work we are noticing is no ordinary production, and altogether worthy of being looked into and read *by installments*. And whoever reads it thoughtfully and understandingly will learn something to his advantage. And as to the author, we would say that one who can write such a book will be likely also to do more and probably better work in the future.

[After the above was in type, the following analysis of the work under notice came to hand, which is also inserted, as presenting another view of the subject taken from another point of observation.—ED. *Meth. Rev.*]

The above is the title of a portly volume, whose magnitude will greatly tend to limit the number of its readers. It is not often that a work of such dimensions, on so grave a topic, is launched on the sea of thought; and how a Methodist preacher and presiding elder found time for the reading and study necessary in its preparation is a marvel. We may welcome a discussion of this great theme whether or not we can accept all the conclusions reached.

The literary style of the book is good, many passages being very impressive, and some rising to the height of real eloquence. The author has a good command of philosophical terminology, although the faults peculiar to philosophical books are, of course, not altogether wanting. It may be fairly suspected that many of the pet terms of philosophy are invented and used for no better purpose than to cover up the absence of clear thought. There are as few literary inaccuracies as could reasonably be hoped for in so large a volume; and for some of those that occur the printer is undoubtedly responsible. An occasional grammatical error may be observed, the adverb and pronoun, as usual, maintaining their pre-eminence as the special stumbling-blocks of generally accurate writers. We find the following: "And as *professed* [ly] inspired documents; and again, "Speak even *friendly* of his work" (p. 425). The dictionaries forbid us any longer to use "friendly" as an adverb. The treacherous nature of the pronoun is shown in the following phrases: "Neither ancient nor modern philosophy fixed *their* point of departure from the great Center," (p. 114); "Neither Judaism is reduced to system, nor Christianity, in the Book that reveals *it*" (p. 441). A few phrases for which we have a special dislike occur quite frequently; for example: "*In* so far as;" "so far *forth* as;" and the unsatisfactory apology, "so to speak."

The author gives his book a double name. Plato and Paul are first discussed—Plato as the representative of Philosophy and Paul of Christianity. Two lengthy chapters of more than fifty pages each are given to these celebrated characters; but while the monographs are valuable, they do not materially advance the discussion of the real question which is the subject of the volume.

Philosophy and Christianity are under review; and the author enters a field that has not been well explored. Books on the relations of science to Christianity are as abundant and parti-colored as the leaves of autumn; but unquestionably the relations of Philosophy to Christianity are more fundamental and important. Few men are brave enough to enter on such an investigation, and few are competent to do so with any advantage to mankind. The outline of the book calls for a full survey of Philosophy and Christianity, and a comparison of the two great systems. The general plan is to first discuss Philosophy, then Christianity, and finally to institute a comparison; although, necessarily, the work of comparison appears somewhat throughout the entire discussion.

A consideration of "The Province of Philosophy" leads to the following outline, under which the system is treated: "The initial fact of philosophy is—*Nature*. The intermediate term of philosophy is—*Man*. The ultimate word of philosophy is—*God*" (p. 127). All questions relating to these three topics philosophy must answer. Matter is first considered, and three conclusions reached: 1. Nature is the embodiment of the principle of unity. 2. Respecting its origin, nature is proof of the necessity of a Creator. 3. The substance, the spirit, of matter is the law by which it exists. Nature is law in form; nature cannot exist without law, but the law may exist without nature. Hence nature may perish and the law remain. The substance, the spirit, is immortal; the form, or nature, is mortal. As law is immortal, so God, from whom it came, is immortal (p. 142). In this third proposition, and elsewhere in the volume, the author puts himself in line with the philosophy of Lotze, which has been expounded so ably by Professor Bowne.

In discussing "The Grounds of Life," the author analyzes all the theories, and looks with greater favor upon "biogenesis" than any thing else that philosophy has propounded, at the same time regarding creation as the only explanation of life. Respecting the origin of soul-life, Traducianism is rejected in favor of Creationism.

From the origin of life he proceeds to that of "Man; or, Anthropology." Philosophy must answer questions respecting the origin, character, antiquity, and destiny of man. Darwin's theory of "descent" is discussed and rejected; the mechanical and transcendental theories meet the same fate; while the teleological theory is accepted. In character man is an intellectual and moral being in a physical frame-work. His antiquity science has not conclusively shown to be greater than the Mosaic account makes it. Respecting the destiny of man, the theory that develops him merely as an animal, or develops him out of existence, is rejected with scorn. A higher development theory is anticipated which will mark the eternal up-building of man in the direction of his Maker.

In considering the questions relating to Metaphysics, the author reaches the conclusion that the mind is a unit, and that faculties are merely terms to aid our thought. The indivisible mind is capable of distinct kinds of acts, which are manifested through material organs; and in the acts of which it is capable we must ultimately read its secret.

One of the most elaborate chapters in the book is that on "The Area of Human Knowledge." Agnosticism every-where receives a cordial and merited drubbing. The sources of knowledge are intuition, sensation, spontaneous and reflective reason, and revelation. Dr. Mendenhall recognizes the limitations of knowledge, but considers them a kind of movable fence which Philosophy may push farther and farther on as its explorations advance. He is dissatisfied with existing methods of acquiring knowledge, and anticipates new developments, suggesting that we must study the powers of the mind itself as a guide in discovering improved methods.

Following the discussion of man, topics relating to God are considered. Modern science is magnifying "force;" and the terms "persistence of force" and "correlation and conservation of forces" are coming into common use. This is all in the right direction, and points to a future acceptance of the doctrine of the unity of all forces in a personal God. Science may not be aiming at this, but by its investigations is making any other theory impossible. Three chapters are given to a discussion of the various phases of Causality, and the author concludes that philosophy has failed to reach a first Cause. This paves the way for the final chapter, devoted exclusively to philosophy, which bears the sad title "The Break down of Philosophy." This "Break-down" is exhibited in its failure to find God, in its account of civilization, in its conception of government and education, in its theory of life and the origin of the universe, in its metaphysics, in the basis of its ethics, and in its failure to point out the secret of happiness. Before reaching this sweeping conclusion the author places on the witness-stand the philosophers of ancient and modern times, and endeavors to measure the results reached by all systems.

Having discussed the categories of Philosophy, Dr. Mendenhall gives to Christianity a similar treatment to determine its contents and value. The "religious concept" is declared to be universal; and the field of inquiry is regarded, as (1) nature, and (2) the supernatural or spiritual universe. Christianity is limited in both departments by its prevailing purpose, and by the short-comings of the human mind. Revelation brings to men only necessary spiritual truths, which are classified as, (1) theistic, (2) governmental, (3) anthropological, (4) soteriological, (5) eschatological (p. 417). Christianity is regarded as the key to the phenomenal world, and the argument of Butler's Analogy is viewed with special favor. Nature is a vast simile of Christianity. Drummond's theory that natural and spiritual laws are identical is discussed and regarded with complacency. This converts analogy into identity, and changes the nature of the argument.

The author's views on "The Theodicy of Christianity" will be found to differ quite materially from those currently held by theologians, and each reader will judge for himself whether the discussion leaves this difficult question any murkier than it was before. In considering the relations of Christianity to the social life of man, eight different ideas are

noted which have been looked to as the basis of human society, namely, the ecclesiastical, the political, the philosophical, the scientific, the socialistic, the pagan, the Mohammedan, and finally the Christian. The last is his conception of the ideal state, in the realization of which individual rights, education, industrialism, ethics, a republican form of government, and a free church must enter. The "perfection of man" is regarded as "the ideal of Christianity;" and the "fruits" already ripened and yet to be anticipated, as a result of the general acceptance of Christianity, are a new civilization, Christian government, material activity, intellectual quickening, popular education, Christian art and architecture, reformatory movements, the Christian home, the brotherhood of man, popular enthusiasm for morality, benevolent agencies, and world evangelization.

"The New in Christianity" is discussed, and the opinion ventured that the work of Christ, the character and purposes of God, atonement, regeneration, resurrection, may all receive a clearer elucidation. In the treatment of "Eschatology," the discussion runs mainly along the beaten track of orthodoxy. The immortality of the soul, the intermediate state, the post-millennial coming of Christ, the final judgment, the existence of heaven and hell, are all recognized. The idea of a second probation is discarded, and the resurrection is to be of the spiritual and not the natural body. Two chapters are devoted to a consideration of the "power" of Christianity, in which the leading features of the system are emphasized. Its peculiar power to awaken enthusiasm is found in some of its doctrines, especially monotheism, atonement, and the future life, and in the unique personality of Christ. Under the title "The Pseudodox in Christianity" the author discusses the claim that Christianity is a system of falsehood, and reaches the conclusion that there is no falsehood in the Bible, though he cannot say as much of any particular system of Christian religion; and he lashes with severity the human elements that have crept into the older Christian Churches, and the differences that separate the various bodies of Protestantism. The last of the chapters devoted exclusively to Christianity treats of "Experience the Philosophic Test of Religion," and the claim is made that the sinfulness of human nature, regeneration, atonement, holiness, Messiahship, immortality, and resurrection, are all categories of experience.

Four concluding chapters are largely devoted to a discussion of the relations of Philosophy to Christianity, and a forecast of the future. Philosophy and Christianity have reached, or will reach, common ground at the following points: 1. Each must submit to the fullest possible investigation. 2. Each must fight Agnosticism as the deadly foe of both. 3. Another common ground is some form of Idealism. 4. Philosophy and Christianity are nearly at one on the question of natural evil. 5. Respecting the history of man, they can stand on common facts, although reaching different conclusions. 6. He further finds common grounds in teleology, but admits that Materialism denies the doctrine. 7. He sees indications that they are coming to a common ethical platform.

Our author proclaims a truce in the following terms: "Religion is nec-

essary to Philosophy. . . . Philosophy is necessary to Religion. . . . Philosophy is Christianity; Christianity is Philosophy." And he has bright anticipations for the future. His final conclusions are stated in the following passages: "We affirm, first, that *Christianity is a philosophic finality, or the finality of all philosophic truth*. . . . In itself, it will prove to be the true philosophy of all truth, without assuming a philosophic form, or usurping the prerogatives of philosophy as a distinct realm of thought and investigation" (p. 726). "If Christianity is the end of truth, it must also be the end of Philosophy; hence, Philosophy must finally be absorbed by Christianity. If ultimate truth absorbs all related or intermediate truth, and the highest truth includes the lowest, then philosophical truth at last must be lost in the broader truth of Christianity, which is the same as saying that *Christianity is the final philosophy*. As such we proclaim it. Final in its truths, it must be final as a philosophy of truth" (p. 732). Christians will not object to this conclusion—the philosophers are yet to be heard from.

But Christianity is more than the final philosophy: "As Christianity is the final Philosophy, so it is the *final Religion*. It is not only the supreme religion, it is the only supernatural religion, and therefore the only religion. All others in their sober contents are mere adumbrations, reflections, or imitations, to be fulfilled, and therefore to be lost, in that which shall endure forever" (p. 732). His ultimate verdict is, that Christianity, more perfectly wrought out, is to be the Philosophy as well as the Religion of the future.

HENRY GRAHAM.

Psychology: The Cognitive Powers. By JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D., Author of "Intuitions of the Mind," etc. 12mo. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Metaphysical studies are not to be valued in the ratio of the number of those who are really devoted to their pursuit; but rather at an inverse ratio, which method would rate them among the first. To the mass of mankind the metaphysician is a wizard who walks in a charmed circle, into which only those of his kind can come. It is further noticeable that the select few who there walk together are not always averse to controversy among themselves. No doubt Dr. McCosh is himself a chief among these magicians, with whom the lesser lights of his art should not unnecessarily provoke a conflict. As one of the uninitiated in such mysteries, we have inclined to accept him as an authority, and our cursory examination of this, his last published volume, has not at all lowered our estimate of his powers.

Speculations: Solar Heat, Gravitation, and Sun Spots. 12mo, pp. 304. By J. H. KEDZIE. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

Nothing is less certainly understood than the ultimate principles of physical phenomena. We know something of the latest results, but only as facts; of their origin and methods of becoming we know almost absolutely nothing. This state of the case allows room for speculations, and the construction of hypotheses, which may be a not wholly useless employ-

ment, since such exercise may lead to the increase of valuable knowledge. In this spirit this book seems to have been written, and though nothing is really demonstrated, still some facts are set in a clear light, and not a few curious and perhaps useful, certainly thought-provoking, suggestions are given. With something of the dogmatic assertiveness that characterizes scientists as a class, the writer is on the whole good-tempered.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Labor Problem. Plain Questions and Practical Answers. Edited by WILLIAM E. BARNES. With an Introduction by RICHARD T. ELY, Ph.D., and Special Contributions by JAMES A. WATERWORTH and FRED. WOODROW. 18mo, pp. 330. New York: Harper & Brothers.

If the last words on the Labor Question have not been uttered, there seems to be a prospect that some progress is being made in that direction, and very many persons in all the lines of active life appear to be disposed to contribute a part to the current discussions. All this is well; for although very much that is crude, and partial, and one sided is offered, yet the whole together contributes to the better understanding of an important and practically valuable theme for discussion. The Essays here given are neither better nor worse than hundreds of others; still the reading of them will do good.

The Jewish Altar. An Inquiry into the Spirit and Intent of the Expiatory Offerings of the Mosaic Rituals, with Special Reference to their Typical Character. By JOHN LEIGHTON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 127. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The changes wrought by modern scholarship in the conception of the relations of the Old Testament to the Gospel, have largely antiquated the accepted text-books of half a century ago, and have introduced new methods for studying and interpreting the prophecies. The questions that cluster about the subject of typology are at once difficult and curious—attractive by their half-disclosed mysteries, and distracting by the incompleteness of the inference suggested by them. The author of this volume professes to have discovered the faultiness of nearly all former theories on the subject, and at the same time to have found out the key to all the mysteries of the subject. Though he writes with great force and learnedly, it must still be confessed that he has rather overtaken himself in attempting to read out all Messianic references from the service of the Jewish altar.

The Story of Music and Musicians. For Young Readers. By LUCY C. LILLIE, Author of "The Story of English Literature," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 245. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The title given above very well indicates the purpose and character of the book. It has a good many of the best qualities of a history of music, yet so told that it may be readily understood by others than professionals, and in a style so simple and abounding in illustration that its perusal becomes a recreation rather than a labor.

The Early Schools of Methodism. By A. W. CUMMINGS, D.D., LL.D., Wellsville, N. Y. Crown 8vo, pp. 432. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Our Methodist fathers made history, but left the writing of it to their successors, unmindful alike of the historical value of their work and of the impossibility for any others than themselves giving the history of what they actually performed. To gather up the drifting fragments of information that still survive in the form of personal recollections, often now in second and third hands, or in imperfect documents, written or printed, is the work here undertaken, to rescue some account of these things from the oblivion to which they are so rapidly hastening. The endeavor has been aptly compared to that of the hunter who seeks his quarry at noonday when the game has retired to its hiding-place and the dew by which the trail may be followed has exhaled. Among such conditions the work now before us has been prosecuted.

From the beginning American Methodism became the patron of education, and engaged in the work of founding institutions of learning. At first its efforts were beyond its ability, and pecuniary failure was the result in not a few early enterprises. Then followed a period of inaction, to give place in due time to renewed activity, which continues to the present. Dr. Cummings, by reason of his connection with that work in various parts of the country, became interested in those earlier educational movements, and has collected a large amount of information respecting them. He has also been induced to continue his researches, and to extend it to the early history of the later academies of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and now he gives to the public the results of his well-directed diligence in the volume named above. As a literary composition it is altogether creditable; but it is chiefly valuable for the service rendered in tracing an important department of church work whose history has heretofore been rather strangely neglected. We congratulate all concerned, in view of the completion of such a work, by which the author has achieved an important undertaking, and has made not only the Methodist Church, but the whole American people, his debtors.

Aristocracy in England. By ADAM BADEAU, Author of "Military History of Ulysses S. Grant," etc. 16mo, pp. 306. New York: Harper & Brothers.

General Badeau, during his long and intimate connection with the American diplomatic service in England, enjoyed peculiar facilities for gaining the information which he details in this little volume. It is essentially descriptive, giving a plain and unvarnished account of the composition of English society, which is probably the most complicated, as well as the most senseless, in the world. The writer proposes only to relate facts, without condemning or approving; and certainly without attempting to point out their philosophy. But as facts, they enter largely into all social and political questions in the United Kingdom, and for that reason they should be studied. This work is, therefore, no less practically useful than curious and entertaining.

Men of Renown. Character Sketches of Men Distinguished as Patriots, Statesmen, Writers, Reformers, Merchants, etc. By DANIEL WISE, D.D., Author of "Uncrowned Kings," etc. 12mo, pp. 295. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Dr. Wise drives a facile and a fruitful pen; and though he has outlived the first generation of his readers, he is no less heartily appreciated by their successors, and all who read his books will be benefited by them. The "Men of Renown" sketched in this volume are Abraham Lincoln, John Quincy Adams, Amos and Abbott Lawrence, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Rev. Sydney Smith, Charles James Fox, Oliver Cromwell, Thomas Cranmer, Desiderius Erasmus, and Geoffrey Chaucer, each of whom is also designated by a *sobriquet* to indicate his recognized character and place in history. These sketches are preceded by a chapter of "Introductory Words to Young Men," which is designed to serve as a practical application of the lessons taught by these "lives of great men." It is altogether a valuable and attractive book, as to both its matter and its dress.

Christian Thought. Lectures and Papers on Philosophy, Christian Evidence, Biblical Elucidation. Third Series. Edited by CHARLES F. DEEMS, LL.D., President of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham, 71 Bible House.

This volume is simply the six numbers of the "Christian Thought" for the year 1885-86, from July to May. The articles are of a high order of excellence, and altogether worthy of the permanent form in which they here appear.

The American Salmon Fisherman. By HENRY P. WELLS, Author of "Fly-rods and Fly-tackle. Illustrated. Large 16mo, pp. 166. New York: Harper & Bros.

Directions where salmon may be found, and how they may be taken—a book for sportsmen, by one of that ilk.

The Transfiguration of Christ. By FRANK WAKELEY GUNSALES. 18mo, pp. 267. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

A collection of eight sermons or meditations, having the account of the Transfiguration for a common point of starting or reference. They are well written, devout after their method, mystical, and fanciful. They may be read as a kind of dreamy heart exercise, but they will not add much to the reader's practical religious thought. The mechanical work, like all that comes from its publishers, is excellent.

German Grammar and Reader ("Deutsches Sprach und Lesebuch"). Herman B. Boisen's "First Course in German." Revised and Enlarged. By Dr. WILLIAM BERNHARDT. Third Corrected Edition. 12mo, pp. 240.

German Grammar and Reader (Second Part: Narrative Style of Language). On the Inductive Plan, for Higher American Institutions of Learning. By Dr. WILLIAM BERNHARDT. 12mo, pp. 143. Boston: Carl Schoenhof. New York: F. W. Christern. Chicago: Gustaf Hinströff.

Books for beginners, on the plan of first learning the language, and after that studying its etymology and syntax; well arranged and beautifully printed.

King Arthur. Not a Love Story. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman," etc. 18mo, pp. 326. New York: Harper & Brothers.

New Tabernacle Sermons. By T. DEWITT TALMAGE, D.D., Author of "Crumbs Swept Up," etc. Delivered in the Brooklyn Tabernacle. Publication Authorized. 12mo, pp. 410. New York: E. B. Treat (office of Pulpit Treasury).

Some thirty sermons from the platform of the Brooklyn Tabernacle, able, forceful, and distinctively characteristic.

Rolf House. By LUCY C. LILLIE, Author of "The Story of English Literature from Chaucer to Cowper," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 266. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A story of American life, chiefly of boys and girls.

Bolnbrooke: A Historical Study; and Voltaire in England. By JOHN CHURTON COLLINS. 12mo, pp. 261. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This volume is made up of two magazine articles—the first from the "Quarterly Review," and the second from the "Cornhill Magazine." They are well written, learned, and suggestive.

HARPER'S HANDY SERIES. (Latest Issues.)—72. *The Evil Genius.* By WILKIE COLLINS.—73. *The Absentee.* By MARIA EDGEWORTH.—74. *If Love be Love.* By D. CECIL GIBBS.—75. *French and German Socialism.* By RICHARD T. ELY, Ph.D.—76. *King Arthur.* By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman."—77. *The Head Station.* By MRS. CAMPRELL-PRAED.—78. *Army Society.* By J. S. WINTER. Illustrated.—79. *Phuck.* By J. S. WINTER.—80. *Her Own Doing.* By W. E. NORRIS.—81. *Cynic Fortune.* By D. CHRISTIE MURRAY.—82. *Effie Ogilvie.* By MRS. OLIPHANT.—83. *Alton Locke.* By CHARLES KINGSLEY.

HARPER'S FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY. (Latest Issues.)—521a. *War and Peace.* By Count Leon Tolstoi. Part III. Conclusion.—522. *Demos.* A Story of English Socialism.—523. *Trust Me.* By Mrs. JOHN KENT SPENDER.—524. *England's Supremacy.* By J. S. JEANS.—525. *A Stern Chase.* By MRS. CASHEL HOEY.—526. *The Russian Storm-Cloud.* By STEPNIAK.—527. *Killed in the Open.* By MRS. EDWARD KENNARD.—528. *Marjorie.* By KATHARINE S. MACQUOID.—529. *In the Old Palazzo.* By GERTRUDE FORDE.—530. *The Crack of Doom.* By WILLIAM MINTO.—531. *The Heir of the Ages.* By JAMES PAYN. Illustrated.—532. *Buried Diamonds.* By SARAH TYTLER.—533. *A Faive Damzell.* By ESMÉ STUART.

PAMPHLETS.

Labor and Capital Are One. By ELLIOT SHEPARD. 8vo, pp. 38. New York. 1886.

Murder and the Death Penalty. By W. H. THOMPSON, Woodward Avenue, Detroit. 8vo, pp. 67. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

A defense of capital punishment for murder.

Various Views of the Atonement. By Rev. LEWIS MEREDITH. Introduction by Bishop W. X. NINDE. 18mo, pp. 46. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Methodism and the Missionary Problem. By Rev. C. S. EBY, D.D., F.T.L. (A Lecture before Victoria College.) 12mo, pp. 56. Toronto: William Briggs.

Shall the Loyal be Deserted and the Disloyal Set Over Them? An Appeal to Liberals and Non-conformists. By WILLIAM ARTHUR. [Against "Home Rule."] 8vo, pp. 67. London: Demrose & Sons.

The Bible. By H. W. BENNETT, D.D. 18mo, pp. 15. Published by Order of the McLean County (Ill.) Bible Society, Bloomington, Ill.

The Value of American Citizenship, as Related to the Education of Women. By Rev. HERRICK JOHNSON, D.D., LL.D. (Dedication of Albert Leo College, Minn.) 12mo, pp. 20. H. G. Day, Printer.

Circular of Information of the Bureau of Education. (No. 5, 1885.) Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities. 8vo, pp. 183. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.

